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Robert Francis Kennedy

Late a Senator from New York

MEMORIAL TRIBUTES
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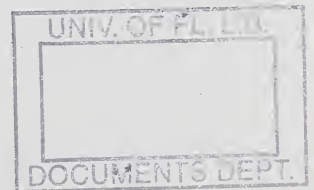


MEMORIAL SERVICES IN THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND TRIBUTES IN EULOGY OF
Robert Francis Kennedy

LATE A SENATOR FROM THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

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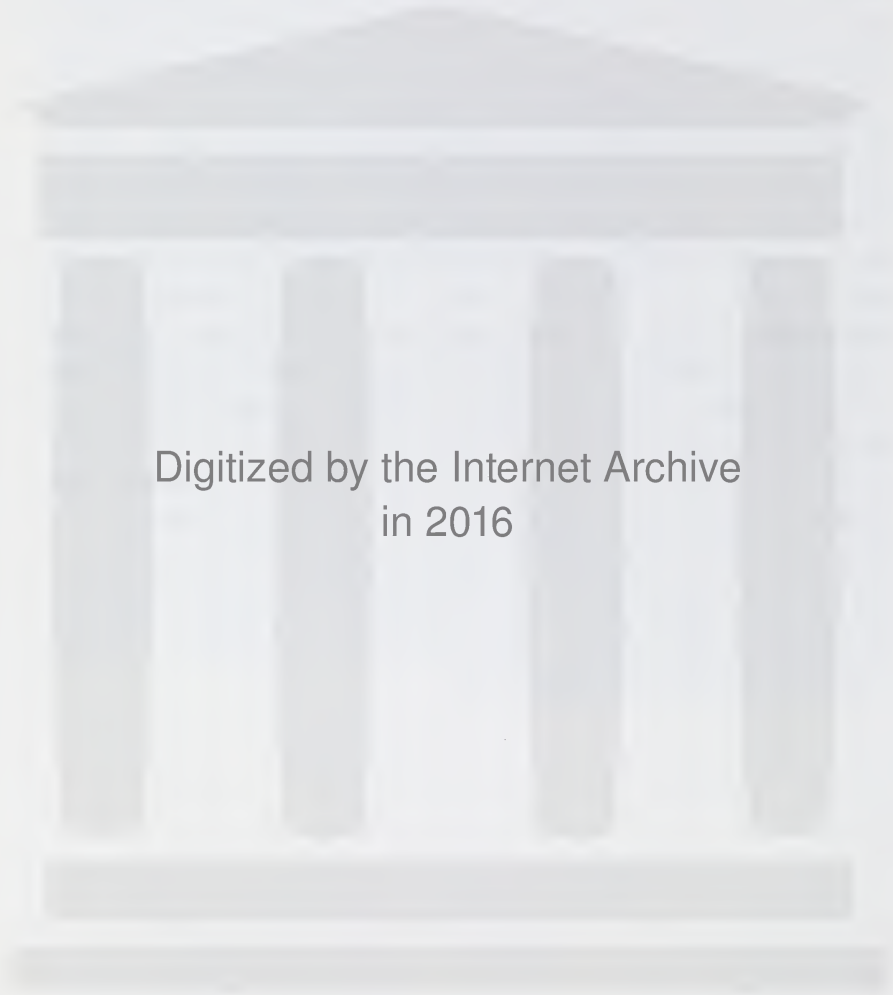


UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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A compilation of services and tributes as
given in the United States Senate and
House of Representatives on the life,
character, and public service of the
late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy

Biography

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, a Senator from New York; born in Boston, Suffolk County, Mass., November 20, 1925; graduated from Milton (Mass.) Academy; served in the U.S. Navy Reserve, 1944-1946; graduated from Harvard University in 1948 and from the University of Virginia Law School in 1951; was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1951 and to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1955; attorney, Criminal Division, Department of Justice, in 1951 and 1952; author; campaign manager for Congressman John F. Kennedy's election to the U.S. Senate in 1952; assistant counsel, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 1953; assistant counsel, Hoover Commission, 1953; chief counsel to the Minority, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 1954, and chief counsel and staff director, 1955; chief counsel of Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, 1957-1960; campaign manager for Senator John F. Kennedy's election to the Presidency in 1960; Attorney General of the United States from January 21, 1961, until his resignation September 3, 1964, to be a candidate for the U.S. Senate; elected as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate November 3, 1964, for the term commencing January 3, 1965; died from the effects of an assassin's bullets at Los Angeles, Calif., June 6, 1968; interment in Arlington National Cemetery, Fort Myer, Arlington, Va.



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Memorial Services

IN THE

Senate of the United States

IN EULOGY OF

Robert Francis Kennedy

In the Senate of the United States

JULY 30, 1968

PRAYER

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., pastor of Capitol Hill United Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Dear Lord and Father of all people who mourn, we bow as a nation before Thee this sad day. One of our national leaders and a worthy Member of this U.S. Senate has been slain by an assassin's gun.

We are numb because we did not believe it could happen in this Nation we love so much. We are a country of all backgrounds, free to voice different opinions and convictions. Our brother, highly esteemed by so many, spoke his convictions so effectively seeking the Nation's highest office. Because of extremism, O God, he is now the victim of a sick mind and spirit. We find we are a part of that sickness. Tragedy upon tragedy is being written as our contemporary history. Have mercy upon us, O God. Forgive us. Guide us. Give to us a sense of divine directions in our confusion.

We thank Thee, O God, for Robert F. Kennedy. We place him in Thy tender care. His was a life of deep religious faith, a life of untold loyalty and sacrifice of service to his country, a life of devotion to family. Give peace beyond human understanding to his soul. We are grateful that our spirits can hear the voice of God when we are deaf to the voice of men.

Give strength and comfort to his faithful wife, Ethel. Be with her today in divine strength in meeting the crushing demands upon her. Bless her children. Be with the Kennedy family, the mother, father, sisters, and brother in compassion and love.

Forgive us for the spirit of violence, hostility of heart, extremism and lawlessness among the people of our country and the world which causes hours like this.

Be the eternal guide to our President, this Senate, and other leaders during a dark and sad period. Through our sincere penitence help us to see how, where, and why we are facing this shocking moment.

We remember the word of God spoken through the Apostle Paul, "We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed."

Help us to learn through this, another human sacrifice, that the way of understanding, respect, decency, and love must govern our paths. We pray in the name of our Lord. Amen.

Hon. Jacob K. Javits
OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, first, may I express my gratitude to the majority leader for giving me what I consider to be a great privilege in the Senate.

I felt that Senator Kennedy was not just a colleague, although that alone would be all that would be required to make me say what I am about to say. But in the course of our association, which naturally became very much more intimate when he became a Senator, he became my friend. I should like to pay my memorial tribute to him because of the deep feelings in his heart, which to me were so very marked, and I shall enumerate them in a little detail in terms of the common experiences which we shared.

His hope and idealism made him a force for constructive change which inspired the youth of the Nation. He had, so far as I know, the deepest concern for the underdog of anyone I had ever met. To put it in very blunt terms, he had deep concern for the people whom our society—notwithstanding its many blessings, and it does have them—had disfranchised in terms of opportunity and in terms of the legacy to which we feel all Americans are entitled. He was not the only man in public life to have this feeling in his heart; but, in my judgment, it burned in him more brightly than in any other man I have ever known.

He had a great humor and wit. He did not take himself all that seriously. But when his mind directed itself to this problem, he throbbed with its significance, like an Old Testament prophet. This was his prophecy: that the blessings of American life would be transmitted to all Americans; to the poor, the black, the Mexican-American, the Japanese-American, and other hyphenated Americans—hyphenated only because they lagged so seriously behind the condition of other Americans and because they were oppressed rather than uplifted by the society of which we are all a common part.

Senator Kennedy had a keen understanding that 80 percent or more of American society was enjoying a way of life, a freedom, a health, an amplitude of living which had never been vouchsafed to any people in all of recorded history. His deep feeling and his burning zeal for improvement came notwithstanding the fact that the disinherited were a minority—20 percent or less—of the Nation.

It was this deep feeling which transmuted our relationship from one of colleagues working together in the interests of our State, to one of friends.

Mr. President, Senator Kennedy's passion for the integrity and the quality of our society and for justice, especially for the oppressed, was coupled with one other deep conviction—his insistence that what was done about it should be done in such a way as to preserve—or to confer, where it did not exist—the dignity of the individual. This is where his deep heritage as a Catholic and as a religious man—and he was that—became evident.

His passion for improvement and his passion of sympathy for the oppressed and the depressed was joined with the determination that every man

had a spark of the divine, was king in his own right. He was determined that whatever was done about the condition of these people, they could never be patronized, but should be given the opportunity to stand up and help themselves as individuals of dignity. These twin ideas so fired and infused his personality that he became a flaming symbol of hope and of idealism and a tremendous medium for constructive change for the people of our Nation, particularly for the young, whose hearts went out to him almost without his uttering a word.

I should like to recount a few of our joint undertakings which reflected the tremendous feelings that impressed me so very deeply. I recall, for example, that it was my colleague who, in the first months in the Senate, suggested that a number of counties in the southern tier of our State of New York—a wealthy State by general standards, but with pockets of difficulty in poverty, as we all know—be included in the program for Appalachia. He started it; he thought it up. He saw the reality, and he saw where it fitted geographically and economically. Again, this was the first expression that he was able to give vent to here of this deep sympathy for the oppressed and depressed. The citizens of that region, in my judgment, have benefited greatly from this association, and I hope they will always have a very dear spot in their hearts for Senator Kennedy. I joined him in the effort, but I am the first to say that he espoused it, developed it, and made it come to fruition.

Another effort in which we both joined was to allow those persons from Puerto Rico who had graduated from Spanish-language schools on the island to vote without taking a literacy test in English. This provided an easier transition and allowed them to vote without a feeling of inhibition that their status as Americans changed because they moved from Puerto Rico to the mainland. This act is a tremendous achievement. We were again partners in this effort. This memory of his concern will live in the hearts of tens of thousands of Puerto Rican citizens of the United States now living on the mainland.

Mr. President, there are two other instances. Probably the most deeply felt for both of us occurred at Jackson, Miss., and in the communities that surround it. Here we encountered, first in the hearings, and later physically and directly, in fact that there was starvation in our country, or

such malnutrition as to be equivalent to starvation. This was a horrendous fact and the repercussions of it have not yet ended.

It will be recalled that ever since the tragic assassination of Senator Kennedy we have had debates in this Chamber dealing with the effort to make money available to deal with emergency conditions of malnutrition amounting to starvation. But the reaction to these personal visual evidences of what it meant to be depressed in this country left Senator Kennedy practically shaking with indignation, and he never ceased to declaim against what he considered to be one of the worst inequities that his work in the Senate had uncovered.

Together with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark] and myself, he endured personal mental torture in the feeling that we were all commonly guilty when such conditions could exist in our country.

Mr. President, something of the same feeling, although not so great, developed in him when we both went to Wayne County in New York and saw unbelievable housing and sanitation conditions in which migrant workers lived. He literally shook with indignation that this could happen here. We are improving and we will improve this, too, and probably more quickly than elsewhere, but his passion for change and his indignation at the condition itself, should be recounted today.

He was a strong advocate of help for handicapped children. It was his deep feeling that rehabilitation would give them dignity and nobility and purpose rather than purposelessness and depression because of their affliction.

In terms of human dignity, it is known that he was an ardent proponent of allowing the poor to be relieved of the demeaning means test and caseworker investigations which have so characterized and bedeviled all welfare programs. He cried out against it. His indignation and the case he made will be a landmark for the improvements which we are now making and which we will make in the years ahead.

One of his most signal achievements was a very gifted program of his own. He later called into partnership with him the mayor of New York, John Lindsay, and me. But on his own he went into the reconstruction of the life in a slum area,

the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. He called on the techniques of government and business cooperation, which he had the privilege to develop, and which was probably the greatest bond in the cement between us. His plan had the understanding of our committee chairman, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], and Members such as the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough], and the great leadership of the chairman of our subcommittee, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark].

In the Bedford-Stuyvesant effort he literally created out of the ground the machinery for community cooperation and a most gifted and high-level board of directors of some leading businessmen, bankers, and community leaders of New York. It was said the board of directors was almost overwhelming considering the size of the project involved, and with its prestige would have been an excellent board for a countrywide effort of the same character. I know that he put this plan together personally through dozens of telephone calls and visits which elicited help from most of the distinguished people of our city.

His effort will be a landmark of self-help and, in my judgment, it will rebuild that entire area occupied by 600,000 people living in the most depressed circumstances in slum conditions, as bad as anyone could find in any big city. I am confident the area will be reconstructed and that it will be the most noble monument which could be erected to his deep feeling for the depressed, to his passion for constructive change, and to the determination that it shall be done to preserve and fortify the dignity of the individual.

I am pleased to report to the Senate that his wonderfully gracious and heroic wife, Ethel Kennedy, has agreed to serve on the board of directors of the Bedford-Stuyvesant project.

Mr. President, I close by saying that much of what Senator Kennedy believed in, much of the passion that filled his life, will survive. He was a man of action. And his feeling for action has been translated not only into legislation and the reality of a Bedford-Stuyvesant project, and other projects, but also into the hearts and minds of millions of Americans. As I said some time ago to a group of young workers who were starting out on a school project in New York, the way

they can add 10 percent to everything they do is to feel they are doing it in memory of Senator Robert Kennedy.

His influence will continue. There is work to be done. We must make provision to provide a balanced diet to the many, many Americans, perhaps in the millions, who are suffering from malnutrition in this country.

We must provide the opportunity for all our citizens to train for meaningful work and occupy meaningful jobs, to revamp our welfare laws to give the unfortunate an opportunity to work their way out of hardship with dignity and respect. To provide meaningful firearms control laws which will enable communities, especially slum communities, to live with some sense of order and tranquillity—at least to try to do so without the added threat which armed crime brings.

In all of these causes. Mr. President, I will feel personally sustained and inspired—and so will millions of Americans—because they were causes that Robert Kennedy espoused with personal dedication.

This feeling, this concept of alleviating human distress and establishing a dignity of the individual, is truly the touchstone of Robert Kennedy's life.

It should be the touchstone of our actions here as the greatest memorial that we could erect for the Senator.

I still start, every once in a while, as I sit at my desk, and look over my shoulder when the door opens and closes rather quickly, as this was his way of entering this Chamber. I still think sometimes that I shall hear, "Good morning, Senator. What's doing today?" For this used to be Robert Kennedy's little charade with me, suddenly to appear behind me and call me "Senator," although we knew each other well.

Mr. President, I hope it may ever be so, for myself and my colleagues, and for millions of other Americans; for that spritely step, that quick smile, that witty word, and that deep dedication and earnest feeling of zeal for the underdog could serve no better purpose than to animate us and animate the country and have a profound influence upon our destiny.

Mr. President, I again thank the majority leader for the signal honor he has accorded me in allowing me to be the first to pay tribute to Senator Robert Kennedy this morning.

Hon. Mike Mansfield OF MONTANA

Mr. President, when was it that Robert Francis Kennedy died? On what day and in what month? Was it in the morning, afternoon, or night? Is it that grief grows over so quickly that we cannot remember clearly? Or is it that horror piled upon horror blocks the remembrance of horror?

If we would record the facts of his passing on this day of eulogy, it is to the chronicle of these depressing times that we are compelled to turn.

Robert Francis Kennedy died on Thursday, June 6, 1968, at 1:44 a.m., in Los Angeles.

The memory of the moment may falter, but not the remembrance of the man. In time's passing, moreover, it will be seen, with growing clarity, what Robert F. Kennedy was and why he was.

I speak now not of his family, his wife, and his children. Theirs is the clarity of understanding which emerges from the depths of great personal grief. They know what Robert F. Kennedy was and why. A son in a far-off continent looking for a hand that is not there knows what his father was and why.

Nor do I speak of those of us who were colleagues, associates, and friends. We, too, can feel what Robert F. Kennedy was and why. In the Senate, we can sense it most, perhaps, in the disquiet in the Nation, in the disquiet which responds to no patent remedy, in the disquiet for which he sought personal involvement as a source of remedy.

Rather, I speak of the people, the people of the streets of America who once touched his hand. I speak of the people who touched the touch as it was carried from hand to hand. That touch reveals all that Robert Francis Kennedy was to the Nation and why. It reaches to all that is yet to be and will be before there comes again in the Nation a freedom from the shrouded fears of these times.

People will remember Robert Francis Kennedy when the children in this land play together and grow together and then work and live together in a new national unity forged of an equal decency and dignity for all.

People will remember Robert Francis Kennedy when there is an end of Vietnams, when nations

at last put aside the ancient hates and suffocating hostilities in a new dedication to the building of a more rational and responsible world order.

Hon. Thomas H. Kuchel

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, this session of the Senate is devotedly addressed to the memory of Robert Francis Kennedy, late a Senator from New York. He sped through his lamentably short span of years with a color and charisma seen but rarely in the life of our Republic. He was a truly remarkable son of a truly remarkable family. He strode onto the national stage as a very young man, intent on helping, indeed, of leading, in the resolution of those terrible issues which were literally burning their way into the Nation's soul. He was sustained by the fervor of youth, his own, and those of his followers, as well.

I was present, as Senators well know, in the city of Los Angeles on that tragic, terrible night of June 4. I saw the look of joy on the faces of his enthusiastic supporters, as he achieved a political victory among the members of his party in my State. And I saw the look of disbelief and shock, of the most painful grief, which replaced the joy, as suddenly, without warning, as the monstrous disaster fell.

Bob Kennedy was a leader. He fought for causes, as he saw the light, and progress marked the path he trod.

His last comments in the Senate were uttered in support of a worthy cause—the Headstart program, designed to give the disadvantaged young the fullest and best hope for educational opportunity in our country. He believed in equal opportunity, both as a matter of fundamental right and of sound national policy. I worked with him, when he was Attorney General and when he was Senator, in seeking successfully to put effective civil rights legislation on the statute books of our land. With the aid of both political parties in our Nation, that effort has made substantial progress these last few years. It needs to make more.

Last month, I sought to pay a brief tribute to the late Bob Kennedy in the Senate, and I should like now to repeat one thought which I then expressed.

Must not this be a time of dedication to the cause of a Nation united? The evil tendencies

toward polarizing America into separate camps, which official reports and unofficial observers fear or prophesy, is to me one of the most terrifying portents of this century. I believe it was equally frightening to Robert Kennedy. One of the most urgent tasks of men both in Government and out of Government is to keep the fabric of our society whole. It is a dedication, a commitment, which surely represents the best kind of memorial for a man who kept a sense of purpose to the day he lost his life.

Hon. Fred R. Harris

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy was a shattering tragedy for each of us and for our country. Senator Kennedy daily lived with enormous personal burdens of duty and moral commitment which caused him, with incomparable courage, to take upon himself the cloak of the alienated, the despised, and dispossessed, and to become their voice.

Senator Kennedy was driven, with a sense of great urgency, to represent frequently unpopular causes on behalf of people throughout America who could give him little in return, except their intense love and devotion. He did so because he felt deeply the necessity of doing and saying what he believed to be morally right.

Typical of the causes to which he was most passionately devoted near the end of his life was his effort to end the injustice inflicted on mothers of young children who would be forced, under a 1967 social security amendment, to accept work-training and employment in lieu of public assistance payments—whether they wanted to or not, and regardless of the kind of care their children might be given. When Senator Kennedy introduced, on January 31 of this year, his amendments designed to undo part of the damage done to our welfare system in the first session of this Congress, he said about that particular measure:

I believe we must ask ourselves what kind of a country we are when we enact legislation in the last third of the 20th century which would force mothers of children who need parental care to go to work. The Congress of the United States—we who sit in this body—have not only acted contrary to fundamental humanitarian, and I might add, constitutional principles, but we have ignored all of the learning and knowledge which has been brought to us by the discipline of child psychology. We have said

to the poor that a Government bureaucrat can tell them whether their children will be brought up with parental care and supervision. I think that was a tragic decision on our part. We must reverse it.

If Senator Kennedy had lived, he would have continued his fight against that measure and the other regressive amendments which he opposed at the end of the last session of Congress and again this session. I feel very strongly that one appropriate memorial to his name would be the complete revamping of the inhumane and unjust welfare system now suffered by that terribly vulnerable group of Americans, the hundreds of thousands of families who must subsist on the meager benefits of public assistance, and to whose misery Senator Kennedy was so deeply and personally sensitive.

Typical, also, of the character of this unique man was his deep interest in the cause of American Indians. As chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, he conducted a brilliant and highly productive series of hearings throughout the West and Southwest, seeking to understand and to find new solutions for the enormous failings not only of our educational institutions but of so many of the programs and institutions of our society with which American Indians have come into contact.

To this cause, too, he brought a rare intensity of commitment and moral indignation. As Senator Kennedy put it when he testified this spring before the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs:

The "first American" is still the last American in terms of employment, health, and education.

I think his personal sense of outrage and concern over the terrible conditions in which so many American Indians still live is best expressed in this passage from that statement:

The subcommittee staff visited one Cherokee home—if you can call an 8 by 12 tar paper shack a home—in which lived a mother, an unemployed father and eight children. There was no insulation in the house, a pot-bellied stove for heat and cooking, no running water, no electricity, and one small kerosene lantern for light, no sanitation facilities, and gaps between the wooden slats that constituted the floor. There was one bed in the room. The seven children slept on the floor and the baby between the parents. The income of this family was about \$60 per month. Four children were in school. Where could they study? Where was there any privacy? Where was there enough light? How could the family afford to buy them clothes for school or pay for their school lunches? The language of the family was Cherokee—how

could the children or the parents communicate with the white teacher in the two-room rural schoolhouse they attended? About half of the family income went to pay the rent on the house which was owned by a white man. What chance do these children have for an equal share of the affluence and opportunity of our Nation?

Senator Kennedy was one of the first persons to endorse publicly the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Far from shying away from the hard and unpopular message that report conveyed to Americans, he welcomed it as a fresh and unequivocal statement about our present crisis and what must be done to meet it. Its message came as no surprise to him, because he had walked the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant and he had sat in the homes of the poor of the Mississippi Delta.

Some people have called Robert Kennedy a divisive force in American life. But I agree with whoever it was that said, sometime during those long, sad days of his funeral, that the very opposite was true—that Robert Kennedy was becoming an important unifying force in our society, because he spoke, at the age of 42, to the young, and they believed what he told them and followed him; because he appealed, though he was a wealthy man, to the poor and the dispossessed, and they let him represent their cause; and because he communicated sometimes just by his presence, though he was a white man, with all the black and other rejected nonwhite minorities of his land, and took up their fight as his own.

Those of us who survive him will never again be the same, though we must take heart and seek renewed purpose from the passion and force with which he asserted the ideals of his life.

Hon. Henry M. Jackson

OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, for 15 of his 42 years I was privileged to know Robert Francis Kennedy as a friend, associate, and colleague.

His life was devoted to serving his country and in those few years he made an imprint on our history that will last and be remembered.

I knew Robert Kennedy, almost from the beginning of his public career. In 1953 he was a young staff member of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and I, in my first term in the Senate, was a member of that subcommittee. It was there that I first observed the devotion

and zeal for public service which characterized his life and career.

In 1955, Robert Kennedy was appointed chief counsel of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. I had recommended his appointment to the chairman, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan]. He served with great distinction in that position.

In 1960, he managed the successful presidential campaign of his brother John with skill and dedication. I was proud to work with him in that cause. In response to the nomination of John Kennedy, I served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. During the months of that tough campaign Robert Kennedy was the indispensable driving force so crucial in achieving the narrow victory.

He then served his country in the Cabinet of his brother. He confounded his critics by the courageous and effective leadership he provided as Attorney General during a period when the burdens of that office were unprecedented.

He was also more than Attorney General: he was first adviser, confidante, and servant of the President.

Despite the shattering personal blow he suffered in the loss of John Kennedy, Robert continued to serve his country in the Cabinet of Lyndon Johnson.

Then he was elected by the people of New York to serve again—this time as U.S. Senator. In 4 short years as a Member of this body, his influence was great. When he spoke, we listened. What he said drove at the marrow of the problems besetting the country. His legislative proposals were respected and many measures which bore his mark commanded the support of the Senate.

That is the public record of Robert Francis Kennedy. It reflects the man. For Robert Kennedy was a man of strong determination, giant capacity, and great courage. He held strong personal loyalties and he inspired great loyalty. The devotion of those around him was genuine and lasting. His own loyalty was unswerving.

He had personal wealth, but his greatest concern was for those who were not fortunate. He spoke and acted forcefully in behalf of those who have not secured a proper share of the social or economic fruits of our country.

Robert Kennedy loved the great natural beauty of our country. He delighted in sampling the

challenges of the outdoors and he found enjoyment and inspiration in the mountains and streams, the open spaces and beaches where he and his family spent much time together.

Robert Kennedy was a man with great love for his family. Love for each other is manifest in the family life of the Kennedys. His wife, Ethel, and the children were a part of all he did, and he was a part of all they did. Around the country and around the world, they were constantly together. The Kennedy family has been and will be an inspiration to all Americans.

There is no comfort when such a man is taken from us. There is, however, the knowledge that he served his country well in positions of great responsibility and his example has and will inspire many others to similar service, now and in the future. That is a great deal for a man to accomplish in 42 years.

Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, we mourn the loss of Robert F. Kennedy, a close colleague and warm friend.

The horror of the tragedy is with us, though many weeks have gone by.

The full magnitude of our loss endures, despite the passage of time.

For a devoted family and loving friends are now denied the counsel and courage, inspiration, love, and trust that filled the proud example Robert Kennedy set.

Perhaps it is the most telling measure of the man that millions in our Nation and the world feel a keen personal loss, like those of us who knew him well.

In the cities and villages of Latin America where he went, in the towns and capitals of both Western and Eastern Europe and South Africa, men, great and small, are grieved.

And so it is at home—where people of all ages, colors, and creeds across the country join in sorrow with the people of the State he represented well.

For Bob Kennedy cared about people. They knew this because of his efforts to help improve their lives.

He held up the wrongs of our Nation, and he worked to make them right.

He aroused men to put forth their best efforts

to correct the injustices of our land, and he awakened them to the infinite possibilities of life for all mankind.

Bob Kennedy looked into history and drew the important lesson that shortsighted living brings long regrets.

From there he set out to do what he thought he must to help conquer hunger, poverty, war, and assaults on human dignity—the enemies of men.

Bob Kennedy had a passion in life. It was to create a society where every American can fulfill his potential, and where no American is held back by race or color or for want of the opportunity to succeed.

Young people flocked to his side not only because he was a young, attractive, vital man himself. They were drawn by his youthful spirit—a remarkable blend of warmth, idealism, and faith. He challenged them and they took up the challenge. For he made them understand that their future depends on the present that all of us share.

Robert Kennedy was a thoughtful, wise, and considerate man. I came to know him well in 1956 when we worked closely together while seeking the Vice Presidency for his brother, John F. Kennedy. Our relationship was maintained from 1956 through 1960, during our efforts to win the presidential nomination for his brother.

Robert Kennedy was devoted to his brother. We came to the Cabinet together in 1961, and I was deeply impressed by the dedication and distinction with which he served the President and our country. As Attorney General, he not only led the Department of Justice with courage and conviction—he also lent his abilities and judgment to some of the most crucial decisions this country faced.

After the tragic death of the President, Robert Kennedy became a Senator from the State of New York. In the Senate we served together on the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization. Again we worked closely together, this time in the fields of traffic safety, urban problems, and the problems of rising health costs.

There has always been a warm and special feeling between the Kennedy family and the people of Connecticut. We have grown to know them well. They have been our neighbors and our frequent guests.

Now we share their grief, for in the death of Senator Robert Kennedy we have seen re-

peated the terrible tragedy that took President John F. Kennedy away from us.

Their leadership—their voices, vitality, and spirit—are sorely missed.

Our loss will always be remembered and often recalled.

Robert Kennedy, and his brother before him—led lives that were far too brief. But they left behind them meaningful monuments that make ours a better Nation and world.

It is our task to carry on.

Robert Kennedy often told us that “we can do better.” We have long known the truth of his words. We must act upon them now.

Hon. Frank Church

OF IDAHO

Mr. President, in the weeks since the assassination of my friend and colleague, Robert Kennedy, I have had many occasions to reflect upon the injury inflicted on our country by this latest cruelty.

I have concluded that popular government suffers from a paucity of strong leaders. Men who would win elections tend to be followers, not leaders. They are inclined to go along in order to get along. They are specialists in telling the people what they think the people want to hear. They are animated mirrors, styled to the fashion of the moment, bent to reflect current opinion, so that the typical voter may see himself in the candidate of his choice.

Robert Kennedy was a shining exception to this rule. He was no ordinary, garden-variety politician. He scorned conformity, insisted on being himself, as he sought to prod the conscience of America.

He once wrote:

Few men are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those seeking to change a world that yields most painfully to change.

Whenever a public figure possessing great moral courage is struck down in our midst, each one of us should recall John Donne’s wise admonition:

Never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

As the funeral train bearing the last remains of Senator Robert F. Kennedy moved slowly through the long day's journey from New York City to Washington, a multitude of mourners gave witness that the solemn bells of bereavement were tolling again for our country.

That morning, at the funeral services, I had prayed for a future day when the gravest dangers would no longer beset those leaders in our public life who stand most firmly against hate, want, and fear in America. I had asked that God might deliver us a time when the men who work hardest for peace and against injustice can walk safely in our midst.

But later that day—on the train—my attention turned to the people who had come, in countless numbers, to line the tracks all the way to Washington. For 8 agonizing hours, as the train passed, I looked into their faces. I saw sorrow there, the bewilderment. I saw fury and I saw fright.

I saw women crying, men unashamed to kneel, or to stand at rigid attention, with hand over heart.

I saw cripples straining to pull themselves erect from their wheelchairs, troops of Boy Scouts saluting, clusters of nuns with heads bowed and hands clasped in prayer.

The railroad tracks do not penetrate the princely parts of our cities. Kennedy's last journey was, through the shabby tenement districts of Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore. There were no grand vistas to look out upon, only cluttered shopyards, grimy warehouses, dumps and slums, which uglify so much of the distance between the splendid skyscrapers of New York and the marble monuments of Washington.

But the slum dwellers did what they could to decorate the way—with flags draped from their windows, with Kennedy posters held high, and with homemade banners expressing their sympathy:

We Love the Kennedys!

Go with God!

Robert Francis Kennedy—Farewell!

And in the stations, as the train passed slowly by, Negro people joined hands and sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

This was how they said goodbye to this rich man who cared passionately about the plight of

the poor. That was the way they delivered their eulogy—far more eloquent than all the words we shall utter today.

Yet, ultimately, if their tribute is really to matter, if our words of praise are to be more than pretty phrases, we must somehow summon up the resolution to serve our country with the kind of courage, candor and conviction which marked the life of Robert Francis Kennedy.

He would have us believe that ours is still a great country, with a future filled with promise, not despair.

Nothing could serve as better proof of this—nothing could better connote the unconquerable spirit of this gallant family—than their choice of the final musical salute to Robert Kennedy. It was no melancholy dirge, but the uplifting strains of "America the Beautiful."

And as the last notes sounded across the moonlit slopes of Arlington National Cemetery, I thought that this indeed was the prayer he would have chosen:

America, America, God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with Brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record selected editorials published in Idaho newspapers, written in memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

[From the Boise (Idaho) Daily Statesman, June 7, 1968]

HE HAD A PASSION TO DO GOOD

What all Americans can hope will be the last tragedy in the history of the Kennedy family has been enacted with the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

He might have been the Nation's next President. No one can say whether he would have been as good, or better, than his late brother. But he had the same passion to do good in the world.

Senator Kennedy had demonstrated, in the primaries, his power to stir the emotions and win the support of people who saw and heard him. He had a vision of a better America in which the present divisions would be healed.

The Senator knew, as well as any man, the risks he ran as a presidential candidate, and as an outspoken and controversial figure in American politics. He had buried his brother.

Some saw in Robert Kennedy a reflection of Jack. Part of his support undoubtedly arose from a yearning to recapture the mood and spirit of the earlier Kennedy administration. But Robert Kennedy had a charm of his own that captured the imagination of his supporters. He had dedicated his life to public service.

Senator Kennedy provided inspiration for the Kennedy family and for the Nation when he stepped into the vacuum left by his brother's death. Now some of those who supported his brother and who looked to him for

leadership will undoubtedly turn to Senator Edward Kennedy.

This is a time of anguish and sorrow for the American people. Our political system will not fall because of the loss of one man, but it suffers. The hope and enthusiasm that Senator Kennedy kindled in some hearts will not be stirred so well by another candidate. It is a personal loss for thousands of people.

It was in Senator Kennedy's nature to push ahead. Even after his victory in California he faced an uphill struggle for the Democratic nomination. But if he had failed, he still had before him the prospect of a long career in public life.

Had a writer of fiction described the events that have overtaken America in the last few years the account would have been dismissed as too grotesque. The second Kennedy assassination compounds the pain and despair of the first. Together, and with the others that have intervened, they are a monstrous chapter in our history.

Now, more than ever, the Nation needs an inspiring, calming, and healing leadership that will help Americans dwell more on what they have in common than what divides them. Not all people were attracted to Robert Kennedy, but all should be able to share his dedication to a better America concerned with all of its people.

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune, June 9, 1968]

THE FITTING TOUCH BY THOUSANDS

The Kennedys, reflecting their Irish bloodline and the quality they possess, know how to bury their dead.

There is a certain futility in a funeral. But such ceremonies do seem to put a few things right if they are symbolic of the man and what he stood for and if they evoke those sharp pangs of remembering.

The state funeral for President John F. Kennedy would probably have been considered a bit much by him, but it was in keeping with the office and representative of the way the people felt. After all, funerals are as much to comfort the living as to salute the dead. Under the sensitive and tasteful guidance of Jacqueline Kennedy, that remarkable young woman, the proceedings that resulted must have left most of us with the feeling that the farewell to a leader was well said.

Robert Kennedy, both like and unlike his brother, was a different man and only a would-be president. Something different was required.

The military flourishes that characterized the funeral for John Kennedy, the Commander in Chief, would not have been in keeping with Robert's life. He was neither a warrior nor in harmony with the military.

Thus, his honor guard was made up of civilians, several dozen of them, who took turns standing for a few minutes on either side of the casket. They were from the Senator's broad circle of friends. There were statesmen and children, white and black, sophisticates and sophomores.

But perhaps the nicest touch of all was supplied spontaneously by the thousands of nameless citizens who filed past through the hours of a day and night.

While he was alive, they had stood on the curbs of

great cities and held out their hands as the Senator rode past in a convertible, touching his own outstretched hand.

Someone in the family had the great foresight Friday and early Saturday not to fence him off with velvet ropes. The thousands walked by, and most of them reached out once again—this time to pat the mahogany casket. It was one last contact with a friend.—B.H.

[From the Boise (Idaho) Intermountain Observer, June 20, 1968]

KENNEDY: A BIG MAN BY MOST MEASUREMENTS

(By Robert E. Smylie)

Too much was said too soon about the passing of Senator Kennedy. Some of what was said and written will not last beyond the drying of its ink or the fading of the TV tube.

I have a notion he would not have liked much of what was done and said. He was a game guy, a gut-fighter, a tough adversary and a go-through type of person. He had courage, strength and endurance and a passionate capacity for being both right and wrong.

His passing brought to mind a plaque which adorns a football stadium in Iowa. A boy whose name I no longer remember had died in victory on that football field. He died a hero and a victor, and a bronze inscription re-creates the incident. It was said of this lad that "he died doing what he did best and loved most." So I think it was with Senator Kennedy.

I was not one of Robert Kennedy's most devoted admirers. It is a fact that he was one of history's great advocates of ideas in the belief that only a free exchange of ideas can set the Nation free.

History may well record that he died at the zenith of his power. If this is the case the insensate act of the assassin spared him the spectacle of the erosion of the power that once was his.

He challenged the power of the Presidency in this unforecastable year. He had said that he must "lay hold of the power of the office" in order to do what in his judgment needed to be done. In the end he might not have made it to the pinnacle of power, but he would have profoundly influenced the course of history in any event.

He was more of a mover and shaker than his late brother, although that measurement must now be clouded by the mists of history. This gave rise to his reputation for ruthlessness.

Robert Kennedy would not have been the chatelaine of Camelot; he would have been the Lord of some fierce and awesome Norman castle. He dealt his deeds with little apology, and he changed directions without notice and without public explanation. He was arrogant with the necessary arrogance of power, and I think humble with the humility of love; a rare and seldom seen combination.

There has been too much made I think of the fact that he and his brother were brothers. They were quite different. I have a suspicion that Robert would have done the things that his brother seemed unable to do, once he had laid "hold of the power of that office." Many of us would not have liked what he did, but that is not to gain-say the fact that the Senator had the ability to make things happen.

It is inevitable that history will measure the two and try to make suppositions about what might have been. They were brothers and this alone is a first in the history of the Republic. Fathers and sons there have been before. There were the Adamses and the Harrisons, and the Muhlenbergs provided generation after generation of leadership to Pennsylvania and the Nation. But never before, I recollect, has there been a family who furnished two, nay three, such able servants to the Republic in one generation.

People have written of conspiracy in the passing of Robert Kennedy, and in the public anguish at this act of violence many have endowed him with virtues beyond his own imaginings. For me, one of the best stories about him involves a newsman who shall be nameless. Kennedy was at Sun Valley for Christmas with his entire family (save one or two—but how can you miss a couple when you have five and a half-dozen). He had been kind to the reporter and answered his questions. Then the fellow pressed his luck. He asked if he could “maybe get a picture of the family.” The late Senator in an acid response said, “Look, you take that camera and go to hell and take a picture of the devil. He doesn’t have a family and he’ll understand better than I can at Christmastime.”

Sun Valley was a challenge. He skied the slopes with dash and abandon and he wanted the youngsters to do the same.

He ran our rivers in the deep canyons of the primitive area. He knew the Lochsa and the Salmon and even there he brought his children to the exciting challenge of the unknown in the outdoors.

Somehow he found that the forgotten race in America was neither black nor brown nor yellow, but was the red man. He talked with the inheritors of this land whom history had cast in the role of the oppressed, took up their cause and made it his.

Somehow there was about Robert Kennedy a sense of mission. This was true before his brother’s untimely and tragic death. He seemed to reach for the action and to be a part of it.

It will be recorded that Robert Kennedy was in at the “kill” in some of the most up tight moments in American history.

By most measurements Robert Kennedy was a big man. It is given to few men to be great in their own right, but this one had the potential. Whether he was a great Senator will await the verdict of history.

He might have been a great President, with all of our misgivings; but this we shall never know.

To some men it is given to be a man of their times; to some, a man of their generation; but seldom is it given to one of us to be a man of their hour.

We shall never know. This may have been one of them. At least it can be said that it ended with the Senator doing what “he did best and loved most.”

[From the Blackfoot (Idaho) News, June 10, 1968]

A WAKE FOR SENATOR KENNEDY

The concern that Senator Robert F. Kennedy felt for those Americans from whom the American dream seemed most remote was told in the days of mourning

that followed his death. Even the cynical among us must be touched by the evidence he indeed achieved a rapport with the objects of his concern.

Soon after his death became known, the thought occurred that it would bring sorrow to some of the people of the Fort Hall Reservation. It remains strong in their minds that in January 1968, he interrupted a Sun Valley vacation to visit them and conduct a hearing on the reservation for the U.S. Indian Affairs Subcommittee that he headed.

An official expression of their concern may have been sent to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy. It is for these proud and sensitive but muted people to know. But the thought occurred that many individual Indians would feel that when Senator Kennedy died they had lost a friend who cared. Would there be any expression from these people, who in the last three centuries have become undemonstrative in the face of what they may still consider to be hostile power?

The answer may have been found in something that occurred in Blackfoot Friday.

Early that afternoon an Indian acquaintance who stops occasionally at the office of the Blackfoot News came in. He carried with him the smell of liquor. He spoke incoherently.

“He was our friend. Tell them he was our friend. He came to see us.”

Almost fiercely he sought a listener, “They should know,” he repeated to everyone who would listen. I’m afraid that ears were closed to him. Eventually he wandered out.

About an hour later he returned. This time he confronted this reporter. Tears were streaming down his face.

“I want to tell them that he was our friend. I may be drunk, but I want you to tell them. He came to see us—he talked to my father—he was going to make things better for us. I was a marine. I fought in many battles for this country. He was the first really big man that came to see us. He saw how we lived. He told us he would help us get new houses. Tell them the Shoshone-Bannock people thought he was their friend. Promise me that you will tell them.”

Wiping his tears, the first I ever saw an Indian shed, he reluctantly accepted assurances we would try to get the word to the people who should know. By that time there had emerged a sense of concern for a responsibility placed upon me by another.

Yet a third time the petitioner came back as the afternoon drew to a close. He had regained his composure.

Steadily and with dignity he said:

“I’m not drunk. I’m sorry for acting as if I was before. But he was our friend and my friends and I want you to tell them.” It had not occurred to me that he was acting as a messenger for others too.

Then I remembered a story that came out of World War II that I had read. It seems to me that it was written by Ernie Pyle, but I cannot be sure.

It was a story about the hard-bitten pilots of a group of fighter planes in the Pacific theater of the war. All but one of their group had returned from a mission. Tensely they awaited the report they feared. Eventually it came. Silently they wandered away individually, then reassembled later in a secluded spot. After time passed and

bottles had been passed, soft cursing that sounded more like prayers than curses began to emerge as the men found their voices.

This is our effort to tell those who should know that a wake for Senator Robert Kennedy was held Friday in Blackfoot, Idaho, by some men of the Shoshone-Bannock nation.—D. R. B.

Hon. Jack Miller OF IOWA

Mr. President, in the death of Senator Robert Kennedy, the Nation and the Senate suffered the loss of a man who might have become President of the United States.

He fought hard for the things he believed in, and this quality gained him the respect of even those with whom he disagreed.

His concern for those less fortunate—especially the underprivileged—will live on, because his commitment to action was strong and influential.

Robert Kennedy's devotion to his family will particularly be remembered. It was an inspiring example for others.

What John Donne said long ago well sums up the feelings of all of us:

Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.

The tragedy our beloved colleague's death has brought to his good wife, Ethel, and the children carries over to our own wives and families. They have our most profound sympathy, love, and respect.

Hon. Claiborne Pell OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, I rise to mourn the tragic, violent, senseless death of Senator Robert Kennedy.

His utter integrity, his search for new approaches, his belief in the promise of the future, and his ability to communicate with the young, the poor, and the black were supreme.

He was a man of courage, of emotion, of compassion, of intelligence, of concern, and, above all, a man of action, a man who translated ideas into action and into deeds.

Our country and our people were immeasurably blessed by having him amongst us.

I do not believe ever before have there been the lines of people waiting to pay their respects

as there were in New York the night and day of his funeral—well nigh 50 blocks long.

The void left by his death remains.

His murder was an awful, needless tragedy—and one more reflection of the spots of violence and sickness that blot our Nation. It is just as much a tragedy for our country, to which Senator Kennedy had so much to give and to which he had already given so much, as it is to his family. The best memorial we can give him is a resolve to fully awaken to our problems and take the steps on so many fronts, at home and abroad, that must be taken to solve them.

In a more personal vein, I mourn his death, too, as I have known, liked, and admired him for more than 20 years, and was one of those few of us who publicly supported his candidacy for the Presidency.

My wife, who also loved and admired him, joins me in our grief as old friends of his family.

In fact, I remember his family before violence first struck it, before World War II. They were a happy, productive, active, competitive family. They always had a spark and a drive that was truly exceptional. I know that my wife and I have often asked ourselves how one family could have produced so much excellence. I only wish I knew the answer. But I know that I shall ever be glad they lived in my time.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale OF MINNESOTA

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy and I were born 3 years apart. We entered the Senate 3 days apart, sat next to each other for a time in that back row reserved for freshmen Senators; almost always we stood together on the issues that came before us; and shared both victory and defeat in those things we both believed in.

I miss him sorely; the days that have passed since his death have not lessened the shock and the sense of loss.

Words are abstractions; they cannot capture, they cannot eulogize a man in life so real, so vital, so a part of the times he lived.

He is gone now, in the words of Carl Sandburg, "to a deep river, to a far country, to a by-and-by whence no man returns"; and he, like Lincoln, "found far lights and tall rainbows to live by."

The insane violence that took his life cost a family its father; a loving wife her husband; parents already burdened with grief, another son.

The bullet that took Robert Kennedy's life took more. The web of this thing that we term American civilization is, after all, a fragile thing, compounded of commonly shared ideals; a respect for the opinions of others; a tradition of fair play and conciliation; even of what Abraham Lincoln called "the mystic chords of memory." This web, this civilization was sorely wounded by the bullet that killed Senator Kennedy. Only now, as vituperation, unreasoning hatred, and the politics of disruption seem increasingly to dominate the national scene, do we discern just how much more we have lost.

If we are to honor this man we loved in life, then all of us, in this Chamber and without, must bend our efforts toward stemming the red stain of violence and vituperation which has increasingly come to torment the Nation's conscience.

Robert Kennedy's life is gone, but the spirit that motivated that life is not. It lives on. It is now for us to continue the work he began.

With his brother, I too, "pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world."

Hon. Ralph W. Yarborough OF TEXAS

Mr. President, the essence of a man is difficult to sum up in words, especially men so unusual as Robert Kennedy, so far above the average in his high resolve and great capabilities. However, if I would choose one single characteristic, it would be his desire almost overwhelmingly to improve the lives of his fellow citizens.

He was impatient, as we all should be, with people who said "it can't be done." His answer was always: "Why not?" Perhaps it was his continuous striving for a better country that caused some people to fear him. They were afraid of him as they fear all men who cannot be put aside with pious platitudes. And they were apprehensive because he represented the virtues which they desire but do not possess.

So the enemies of justice and progress tried to create a climate of public opinion which would discredit and destroy his political effectiveness.

Their results may have been different from their aims. His political effectiveness grew by leaps and bounds, and the climate of public attitude they created could not discredit him, though it nurtured the misguided, the fanatic, and the zealot who in the end destroyed him.

Robert Kennedy will be missed throughout the land, but he will be especially missed by those of us who worked with him when he was campaign manager for his brother John F. Kennedy; in 1960, when he was Attorney General; when he was in Senate committees; and when he served on the floor of the Senate. We benefited from his counsel and experience and from his impatience with those who say it cannot be done.

Our late colleague had experience in domestic and international affairs, the breadth and depth of which made him one of our greatest national leaders. He confronted those things which cause turmoil in the world and in our society, so that he could understand them well enough to help.

He was admired all over this world at the time of his death more than any other living man in public life or office.

When Robert Kennedy fell, a victim of a cruel and cowardly assassination, the world wept, as it had when his brother John F. Kennedy was likewise assassinated.

He talked to people no other national leader was talking to and at a level where communication was not distorted. One of his legacies is that understanding of the people and issues that are the forces of change today. That understanding was made clear on this floor and in forums around the world in speeches which are surely the most perceptive articulation now available of the new order of things which he helped to introduce and which, for many, he symbolized.

As he developed his campaign for the Presidency, Senator Robert Kennedy proposed solutions that cannot be ignored and should not be forgotten. These suggestions were based on a sensitivity to the divisions in our society that was perhaps unique in our Nation. Those divisions—between black and white, young and old, rich and poor—are what we must face today if we are to survive as a nation. His speeches offer us hope.

Robert Kennedy offered us wise counsel in meeting our foreign responsibilities. Early in his Senate career he spoke out eloquently on Vietnam, and continued to do so, with statements

so timely and criticism so responsible that one could almost feel their impact on our national course in Asia.

He visited Africa to demonstrate that this Nation has leaders who value human dignity, and would not remain blind to other peoples' fates. His travel in Latin America led to extensive and concrete proposals for renewing a good faith relationship with our hemispheric neighbors. The speeches Robert Kennedy made during and after his travels demonstrate the unusual rapport with other peoples that made him one of our most respected and credible spokesmen.

I served in World War II on the staffs of a number of generals, and I have worked with Governors, Senators, university professors and presidents, authors, historians, scientists, and others. Of all the men I have met, I consider Robert Kennedy one of the two or three most brilliant. We have now lost two brilliant members of this family who have given as much as any other family in American history, if not more. Certainly, the Kennedy family has sacrificed more for the public weal and the common good than any other family in public life in our generation.

It was my privilege to work with Senator Robert Kennedy on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on the Subcommittee on Education, on the Bilingual Education Subcommittee, on the Indian Education Subcommittee, and on the Subcommittee on Labor.

The memory I will retain longest is that of the hearing with respect to the underprivileged Spanish-speaking people, the Puerto Ricans, in the areas of New York City, where we conducted hearings on the bilingual education bill. We walked the streets at noon in the heart of areas populated by Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

My wife and I have had the rare privilege of visiting in that sparkling home at Hickory Hill, Va., over which he and his charming wife, Ethel, presided with such informal grace and hospitality, surrounded by their cooperative children, giving a fine example of family unity.

No other Senator has ever made so great an impact on our Nation and the world in the short but dynamic 3½ years he served in the Senate.

He was cut down at the peak of his career, at the close of a day that saw double political victories for him in California and South Dakota, the breakthrough which, in my opinion, had he

lived, would have carried him on to the presidential nomination and to the Presidency.

We place this verbal wreath upon the bier of the unelected President—not yet elected at the polls but already elected in the hearts of the people.

As we rode that last funeral train from New York to Washington on June 8, we saw again that he was first in the hearts of the American people. He is now first in their memory and in their hopes for the kind of peaceful future they want for their country, at home and abroad.

The Senate was lifted by his presence to a peak of leadership among American legislative and executive institutions in our time. As he ennobled the Senate by his presence, so may his memory continue to be an inspiration and a guiding force for us.

I shall treasure the memory of his friendship as one of the greatest and most inspirational experiences of my lifetime.

Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, all America grieved at the senseless violence of the act which struck down Senator Robert Francis Kennedy as he sought the highest office of his country. With his tragic death, America has lost a dedicated public servant, and the Senate has lost one of its most articulate and concerned Members, a man who served this body not only as a Senator from the State of New York, but earlier in his career as a Senate staff member.

While we differed in our political views and our approaches to solving many national problems, I admired Bob Kennedy for his courage and for his forthright efforts in behalf of any cause he championed. Like his brothers and the other members of his family, he had a valiant heart which sustained him through personal tragedies as well as through the trials and challenges of high public office. He never shrank from danger, either physical or political. Pericles said:

The palm of courage will surely be adjudged most justly to those who best know the difference between hardship and pleasure and yet are never tempted to shrink from danger.

Surely, Robert Kennedy deserved that palm of courage and, in this, his family should find great comfort in the years ahead.

As a counsel to the Subcommittee on Investigations, on which I served, he daily displayed a rare moral courage and determination to do the job assigned to him despite obstacles and threats which would have cowed a lesser man. This was his most characteristic trait which the country came to know during the election campaign of 1960, later as he served as Attorney General, and throughout his Senate career.

As it is given to few men, Robert Kennedy knew the joys and the trials of human existence. In his devotion to his family and to his church, in his youthful enthusiasm for encountering all that life had to offer, and for giving unstintingly of himself, Bob, like all of his family, represented the best qualities of American life. It was for this reason that he captured the imagination of so many young people. It would be difficult not to admire this adventurous spirit and to identify with him as he climbed mountains, shot rapids, worked for youth programs in the cities, or played touch football with his children.

Possessed of the material blessings of life, he chose not to sit in lethargy with his wealth; rather, he chose a life of active involvement in the world about him, and it plainly was his credo until the moment of his death.

Though his time on earth was so brief, Robert Kennedy found the rich rewards of self-fulfillment as a human being, and success in his public and personal life. I am convinced that the tradition of public service and achievements which is the hallmark of his remarkable family will be upheld by his children and continued by others in his family. Comfort, then, not condolence, in their bereavement, is what we must offer his wife, his children, and his family. For their memories of the honors he gained and the bravery he showed in his lifetime will keep Robert Kennedy in their midst as husband, father, son, and relative. No one who has lost a loved one can ask for more.

In closing, I observe that the conduct of his wife, his mother, his brother Ted, and his other relatives since his tragic death make it manifest that those he loved were like Bob Kennedy himself, in that they have much valor in their hearts.

Mrs. Ervin joins me in extending to them our deepest sympathy.

Hon. Joseph D. Tydings OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, Justice Holmes once said:

As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Robert Kennedy lived the action and passion of our time. He died in action. He spent his life, he gave his life in highest service to his country and to his fellow man. To those ignored he gave attention; to those in despair, he gave hope; to those in need he gave help. To citizens blind to the fate of their fellow man he presented the discomfiting specter of the other America. He gave himself.

Bob Kennedy, our friend, is dead. But the challenge of a newer world he pursued so selflessly remains. Let us be equal to that challenge.

In the long roll of history it will be marked for Bob Kennedy, as it was for his brother, John: "There was a Man!" We will not soon forget these men, or their compassion. As Pericles said centuries ago:

Heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own—where the column with its epitaph declares it—there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.

God have mercy upon the soul of Robert Kennedy. God have mercy upon his family. God have mercy upon us all.

Hon. Wayne Morse OF OREGON

Mr. President, it is indeed a time of great sadness that after such a short period of time another national tragedy has shaken our Nation to its very foundations. We respond this morning in tributes to an outstanding American and colleague, Robert Kennedy, who was taken from us by an assassin's bullet. There is a feeling of emptiness and dismay in all of us as we think of the consequences of that horrible act on our Nation and the world.

There can be no greater eulogy to Robert Kennedy than the words of his brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, at St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 8, 1968, when he said:

My brother need not be idealized or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

He attacked violence and disunity which swept across the Nation in past months, shaking the foundations of the Nation and claiming him as their victim. He called to our attention, through his investigations as a member of the Subcommittee on Poverty, the suffering of poverty and ignorance. He courageously and prophetically protested the horror of the conflict in Southeast Asia which he urged us to resolve through the peacekeeping procedures of world law.

These are goals to which we should all rededicate ourselves as our living monument of political action in his memory.

We now know that each of us is a better person because we were privileged to know Robert Kennedy and share the influence of his idealism, courage, compassion, and great statesmanship. However, our words of eulogy will become but empty phrases unless we breathe his undying faith in human values into our way of life. We can best honor him by keeping his faith in our system of constitutional self-government designed to promote the general welfare of all of our people, not just some of our people.

Mrs. Morse and I extend to his wonderful wife and children, to his mother and father, to his sisters, and to our colleague, Edward Kennedy, and their families, our thanks for their example of faith in God and their great strength in bereavement. May God comfort and bless them all.

Hon. Carl T. Curtis

OF NEBRASKA

Mr. President, on behalf of all the people of Nebraska, I want to express our deep regret and sorrow that was felt by everyone at the tragic death of our colleague, Senator Robert Kennedy, of the State of New York. His death was so unnecessary. It was so symbolic of the violence that concerns all people. Perhaps in his death the United States will move closer to a society of law and order.

Much will be said concerning the life, the interests, the ideals, and the words of Robert Ken-

nedy. It will not be my purpose at this time to attempt to comment on, or even list, the many noteworthy things that mark the period that he served as counsel to the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate, later as Attorney General of the United States, and still later as a Member of the U.S. Senate. He was involved in many things, and the historians of the future will find a rich source of material connected with the life of Senator Robert Kennedy.

There comes a time when politics, political solutions, and all things secular become of lesser importance. At such a time, Christian faith and the knowledge of life eternal take their rightful place as the most important of all things. So today in expressing the sorrow and the condolences of the people of Nebraska to the family of our departed colleague, we also direct not only his family, but all men everywhere, to the enduring faith of our departed colleague.

Hon. Joseph S. Clark

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, the custom of the "eulogy" of the dead comes down to us from Greek and Roman times and has produced some of the most moving prose in our heritage of western civilization. Yet I think somehow the tradition of the eulogy is out of place in our modern life in general, and I hazard the perhaps unpopular suggestion that it has become out of place on the floor of the Senate where the atmosphere has changed so much since the days of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster.

So I am reluctant to speak today of my friend Robert Kennedy. On Thursday, June 6, shortly after his assassination, I spoke briefly respecting the impact of his death.

Today I shall merely refer to three little incidents, three vignettes, if you will, in our relationship. Each has left a picture in my mind which I think will stay with me for the rest of my life.

The first incident was in the State of Mississippi in the early spring of 1967. Bob and I went together as representatives of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, of which I am chairman; first to Jackson, and then up through the delta counties of Mississippi, taking testimony, visiting, inspecting, and exploring

the tragic conditions of poverty which we found in that State.

I was the chairman of the subcommittee but he was the leader of our group by reason of his stature, his deep dedication, his youthful energy and the interest displayed in him by the representatives of press, radio, and television.

For the first day, we were accompanied by our friends from across the aisle, the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] and the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. They made a real contribution before they had to leave to attend to duties in the Senate.

Bob Kennedy and I stayed. The picture in my mind is of this vital young man with the shock of hair and the slight figure, going from broken-down shack to broken-down shack, talking with these simple people, most of them black, some of them white, keenly interested in their problems, their tragedies, and having a difficult time fighting off the TV, radio, and photographic people swarming all over him wherever he went, making it so difficult to conduct a meaningful dialog with essentially shy people. Yet, somehow, he accomplished it.

When we came back, he and I went to see the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, and told him of the frightening conditions we had found and begged him to send food to the hungry. At long last, much later to some extent, that was done.

But the incidents of searing poverty, the cheerfulness of the poverty stricken in the midst of misery, his reaction to those fundamentally splendid people and the great work he did when he came back to assure that something would be done—some little thing—by the Federal Government to mollify their condition, the earnestness and the zeal, and the dedication which he gave to that task, will always stay with me.

The second incident was somewhat later, in the summer of 1967. I went to his office to talk with him about a problem of mutual interest—I have forgotten what it was now.

He was meeting with his brother, Ted. I did not know what they were talking about, and I did not try to find out. I just wandered around his office while they talked looking at the pictures and the scrolls on the walls.

There, in front of me, was my favorite poem, Tennyson's "Ulysses"—not all of it, but the part in which Ulysses speaks to his mariners and ex-

horts them to go forth on one more voyage to seek a newer world:

Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.

After a while, Bob and Ted finished their talk—Ted left—and before we started our discussion, I said to Bob, "How do you happen to have that poem on your wall? It has always been my favorite. I learned it by heart when I was in college years ago."

He replied, "It is mine, too. I learned it by heart when I was at Harvard."

It is a great poem. Its only failing is, there is no woman in it. It exemplifies, in many ways, the strong streak of adventure, idealism, and hard, tough determination which was so much a part of Robert Kennedy's character.

That scene is also deep in my memory. A new bond between us had been created in a moment's time.

The third incident was right here on the floor of the Senate, early this spring. I was standing about 15 feet behind and to the left of my desk, with not much of anything on my mind, and Bob came up to me, knowing that I was a candidate for reelection to the Senate and knowing that the impact of what he might do with respect to seeking the Presidency might have some bearing on the success or failure of my candidacy. He said to me, "Joe, would it murder you if I got into this thing?"

I said, "I do not know what you are talking about."

He said, "Well, I am thinking of declaring my candidacy for the Presidency. Would this hurt you?"

I replied, "Of course not, and even if it did, I would urge you to do it. I am so glad that you are thinking of changing your mind."

I did not know, then, what he was going to do. I never made a commitment to support him, but I felt that this was probably the toughest decision of his life. I think he made the right decision, even though at the end it was obviously the triggering event in his assassination. It was typical of his consideration of others to think of the impact of his decision on my fortunes.

Thus I think of him, of the joy of a friend, in the light of these three little incidents which will always stay with me.

Mr. President, I do not believe in eulogies but I thought it well to say these few things for posterity as it consults the Congressional Record.

Hon. Strom Thurmond

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, I am pleased to join in this occasion to memorialize our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. I was deeply grieved when I learned of his tragic death. I was shocked not only by the fact of his death but also by the tragic circumstances both for him and his family. Death comes like a thief in the night, as the Bible tells us, but it seems more sudden and more shocking when it stops a life in full career.

Many of us did not agree with some of the views of the late Senator from New York, but that disagreement was to be expected in the nature of a deliberative body. Our differences did not go beyond the business of political inquiry. We respected Senator Kennedy as a hard-working colleague who participated to the fullest in the affairs of this Senate.

Senator Kennedy was my next-door neighbor in the New Senate Office Building and, because of this propinquity, I had occasion to see his never-failing courtesy to the members of my staff, as we both went about our work in the Nation's Capital. A measure of a public man's character is his courtesy toward the "little people" of his professional life, to those to whom he has no public obligation. We saw Senator Kennedy's courtesy and human friendliness at close hand.

The dimensions of this tragedy extend both to his wife and children and to the entire Kennedy family. That this family has suffered yet another great tragedy touches all of us deeply. The image of the Senator's father and mother struck once more by grief calls to us the image of Job, laden with suffering upon suffering. Seldom in the annals of political history has one family borne so great a series of personal misfortunes and sufferings inflicted in the course of public service.

Mr. President, I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and her children, and to all the Kennedy family, and especially to our esteemed colleague, Senator Edward Kennedy.

Hon. Edmund S. Muskie

OF MAINE

Mr. President, in the years ahead, millions of words will be written and spoken about Robert Kennedy. As the volume grows, it will be increasingly difficult to recognize the man who walked and worked among us.

We each know something of the larger-than-life dimensions which are applied to the virtues and faults and activities of men and women in public and political life.

I think we all appreciated the fact that the process had overtaken Bob Kennedy long before he came to the Senate and to a degree none of the rest of us have ever experienced.

My instinct, therefore, Mr. President, on this occasion, is to speak of the Robert Kennedy we came to know as a human being whose talents and interests and appeal prompted his constituents to send him to the Senate.

I did not know him in his childhood, or his boyhood, or his early manhood. I do not know what he was in those years, or in what ways the influences and circumstances of those years shaped the man who was our colleague. I know only that they produced a man of unusual qualities of heart and mind, a man vulnerable as are other human beings in his weakness and shortcomings, a man it was a privilege to know.

I thoroughly like the Bob Kennedy I came to know. He was warm and considerate. He was compassionate. He cared about others. Our working and personal relationships were the relaxed and satisfying kind growing out of mutual respect.

He was shy, and his shyness has been interpreted as aloofness and coldness.

He was tough and determined about those things which mattered deeply to him.

He was a fighter—fired as he believed all Americans should be by the injustices of our time.

He believed it to be his duty to use his life to improve life on this earth.

I miss him, Mr. President, as a man who had much to contribute to that objective, and as a man whose friendship warmed those who were privileged to share it.

Hon. Winston L. Prouty
OF VERMONT

Mr. President, we are today a little further removed in time from the tragic event of June 5, which took from our midst and deprived the world of our late colleague, Robert F. Kennedy. My sense of personal loss and our bereavement as a body and as a nation are no less real now than when I spoke briefly on the 6th of June.

If these short 2 months have done anything, they have intensified my feeling of frustration and helplessness in the face of so senseless an act.

Mr. President, I have thought about the short years that Robert Kennedy was among us in the Senate. I have tried, also, to compare the Senate itself during that time and since his death. There is, indeed, a change in this body. It seems to me that the poignant touch which his very presence added to our assembly was, if not unique, so keen and vigorous as to have given added life to us all.

Of course, we never have agreed and never will agree in all things. And, right or wrong, once decided, our work is done, and we move to other things. But, now our approach is just a shade different, it seems to me.

It was in his approach to things that, I think, Bob Kennedy made his mark. The urgency toward accomplishment which appeared in everything he tried to do was infectious. It seemed to lead us all to be about our business and the business of the Nation and to move on to other things.

"We must act," his very presence among us seemed to say. And this approach to things seemed to me to cause our step to quicken, just a little, and to move each of us, however slightly, closer to accomplishment of the goals, whatever they are, of each of us.

It seemed to me that Robert Kennedy conveyed to us a sense of satisfaction—not that we have done a complete job; not that we have accomplished everything; but a sense of belonging because we are doing something; that the job is being done; that we are acting in a living, vibrant world.

It is this worthwhile motion which has been slowed down. It is in the act of accomplishing

things that now we feel most strongly the absence of the junior Senator from New York.

Hon. Howard W. Cannon
OF NEVADA

Mr. President, few sadder tasks have come to me as a Senator than to speak of the early and tragic death of our recently departed colleague, who left an enduring mark not only in the Senate and in his State, but upon the conscience of the Nation and the world.

The words of Senator Robert Kennedy's brother, Edward, on that sad day in New York are still in my mind, when he told the mourners present in St. Patrick's Cathedral, where I sat, that his brother was "a good and decent man who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it."

It is for these things, and more, that Robert Kennedy will be remembered. He was a fighter and not a sentimentalist. He had compassion, but it was not of the theoretical kind but rather of down-to-earth practicality. He championed the poor and the disadvantaged, the ignorant, and the deprived—all those who found in him an eloquent and vigorous advocate.

He communicated with the young people of our Nation as few men in public life have done before him. I speak of that half of Americans 25 years of age and younger with whom he shared a special kinship.

In this age of doubt and uncertainty of direction, he told America that "we can do more, we can do better," and I believe he convinced millions that it could be so.

His legacy will lie in the inspiration for public service with which he sought to infuse all those he met and talked with. I believe that through his courage and the dedication of his family he will continue to call America to the fulfillment of its destiny, and that in the process this great man will be remembered and his leadership will remain fresh.

All who knew Senator Robert Kennedy will miss him.

Mrs. Cannon and I extend to his brave widow and his wonderful children and to his parents and sisters and brothers our enduring friendship and our deepest sympathy in their sorrow for

his loss. I know they will be sustained in their pride in his life and accomplishments, as surely as his name will be honored by this and future generations of Americans as a good and dedicated public servant and private citizen.

Hon. John O. Pastore

OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, how shall a colleague speak in eulogy of Senator Robert F. Kennedy?

How shall we measure the meaning of the man—the measure of how he shall be missed?

I could measure it by the loneliness of our common corridor in the Senate office building, where yesterday crowds came from every corner of America in the electric excitement of meeting the junior Senator from New York.

That corridor misses the footstep of a young man in a hurry—with not enough time in his day.

And then there were not enough days in his time.

We feel something missing from a summer of crusading ambitions—looking toward a November of choice, of challenge, of change.

It is the vacuum of a voice that yesterday had such power and today is at peace.

What would we add, what could we add to the poignant requiem of brother for brother we were privileged to hear that sad June Saturday in the Cathedral of his faith?

The brother borrowed the very words of Robert Kennedy to fashion his benediction—the language of the living to be the litany of his loss.

Surely, we are humble in the poverty of any words that we ourselves might contrive.

So I, too, would like to borrow some words of Robert Kennedy, from a speech within a speech of his.

A little less than a year ago—on Wednesday, August 2, 1967—I was on the Senate floor to place in the Record some wise words on world peace. They had been spoken by a still-living constituent and neighbor of mine.

That same day, for the Record, Robert Kennedy spoke of another such American. He entered the eulogy of a friend for a friend—one whose life had just been lost in untimely tragedy.

The eulogy contained some lines from a Housman poem.

They are lines that might well serve as Robert Kennedy's own epitaph. And these are the lines I borrow today:

The thoughts of others
Were light and fleeting. . . .
Of lovers meeting . . .
Or luck . . . or fame.

Mine were of trouble . . .
And mine were steady . . .
So I was ready
When trouble came.

Robert Kennedy was, indeed, ready for our troubled times.

He meant to meet "trouble" under its every guise, to challenge its despair, to change its direction.

For "trouble" wears many masks. It means poverty, hunger, disease, racism, riots. It means inequity, hate, hopelessness, injustice, indignity, indecency.

"Trouble" means underprivilege, despair, slums, ghettos, war, every woe of the world, every ache of the human heart, every ill of the human soul.

The religious faith in which Robert Kennedy was born and died has a simple premise with which no faith will quarrel.

It teaches that the world about us, with all its beauties and values, is God's gift to man.

The world is meant to be perfect. Its imperfections, its flaws, its scars, are the mistakes of man. Only man can destroy paradise.

His faith teaches that man's work on earth—whatever his walk in life—is to mend the flaws of the world, soften the scars, heal the hurt of his fellowman.

Its other name is love of neighbor.

Strangely enough, one hesitates to speak these solemn words here, here where so much of the responsibility rests, where so much of the opportunity lies.

But Bobby Kennedy spoke such thoughts here and everywhere and he had the precious power to make people see the vision beyond life's viciousness.

One might not have rapport with his ambitions—but one would surely have respect for his aims.

One would have admiration for the happy warrior, and have awe for his gift to command the utmost in allegiance and affection.

We shall be mindful, in eulogy, not to make Robert Kennedy larger than he was in life.

But we shall not make him less.

Robert Kennedy was a man of faith, of family, of fortune. He had everything to live for and he chose to live for others far less fortunate than himself.

We saw how he inspired people—especially the young—to a sense of involvement in Government as he invited them to a commitment to an America as good and great as our land can be.

There may be those among us who, proudly and properly, feel that they, too, have this commitment.

But each of us knows that a dynamic America is diminished and our destiny is endangered as even one of its spokesmen is silenced—stilled by the very violence he sought to contain—by the very twisted soul for whom he would make straight the way.

So a greater burden is left to be divided among those who remain.

A time of eulogy would be an exercise in mock heroics if we do not meet that test—if we do not take up the burden.

Our sympathy would be shallow indeed if we gave less than that promise to his loved ones from whom so much has been taken. And our sympathy is from the depth of our hearts—from the true heart of America for those who shall sorely miss their fond father and husband, loyal brother, devoted son—just as our times shall miss this good and decent man.

In this time of pain and trial and desolation may there be comfort for them in our human esteem and humble affection as we share their sorrow just as their cry “out of the depths” will be heard by One whose strength will be with them longer than forever.

The hour approaches when our great political parties will document their dedication to America in language grander than any we use here today.

But here is where the promise to America must be kept if the promise of America is to be achieved.

This is where we must make our stand, steady, ready to meet America’s troubles and master them.

This is our task for they can trouble Robert Kennedy no more.

Hon. B. Everett Jordan

OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, today we pause for the second time in the short space of less than 5 years to pay solemn and sorrowful tribute to one of our own cut down in his prime by the savage and senseless act of an assassin.

It is a cruel and ironic twist of fate that these men were brothers—one who had moved up from this Chamber to become President before his untimely death, the other killed while campaigning for the same high office.

Today our eulogy is for Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, and we feel once more that sense of loss and deprivation which marked the weeks after that tragic day in Dallas in 1963.

I did not always agree with Senator Kennedy’s views and philosophies.

Sitting beside him I frequently voted against his position.

But at the same time I respected him and admired many of his qualities.

Robert Kennedy was a fighter who believed implicitly in himself and the causes for which he fought. He was a man of courage, driving ambition, political skill, initiative, and single-minded dedication to the causes he espoused and to which he devoted his life.

It is as such a man that I remember and honor Robert Kennedy in this memorial hour.

Hon. Daniel K. Inouye

OF HAWAII

Mr. President, once more we gather under tragic circumstances to pay tribute to a fallen friend.

Once more we weep to contain the immeasurable quantity of our grief.

Death comes, as it must, to all men, but before that end, destiny bestows upon rare individuals the privilege to make a lasting contribution to the betterment of mankind. To this man is given the rarest of all gifts, the spark of vitality that illumines and enriches our lives.

Such a man was our colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. He was a man who, like his late

brother, gave every measure of devotion in the service of his country which he loved so deeply. Like President Kennedy, he resolutely faced the future confident of the United States and its people.

I gaze back at my 8 years of association with Robert Kennedy with warmth, affection, and pride. They were vibrant, exciting years, and I shall miss him deeply. Daily I saw his boundless compassion for the poor and disadvantaged of our country and heard him speak for those who had no voice. I knew, too, of his unqualified dedication to democratic ideals and to the belief that the bountiful riches of this land could be utilized to feed and house decently every citizen regardless of color or creed.

He was a courageous Senator, eager to protect the weak, to tell us the truth about our defects as a people, to reaffirm our inherent worthiness, and to point out the tasks left undone. His voice is stilled, and we are all the poorer for the silence.

His legacy remains untarnished for us and for the millions who share his vision of a greater America. It is for us to honor him by our fidelity to the humanitarian ideals he espoused so that in the end we may say with Donne:

Death be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so,
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow,
Die not, poor death, nor yet canst thou kill me.

Hon. Stuart Symington

OF MISSOURI

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy was an able and industrious citizen.

Robert Kennedy was an American patriot in the finest sense. He took little and gave much.

Robert Kennedy was my friend, as I was his.

Robert Kennedy cut through bureaucracy and delay so as to find the truth and then he told that truth to the millions who honored him, trusted him, and loved him.

This will be a better world because he lived. No man could ask for more.

To his gracious and lovely wife, Ethel, to his parents, and to his children, my wife and I offer our deepest sympathy.

Hon. Quentin N. Burdick OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I shall take only a few moments to pay tribute to Robert F. Kennedy. It is difficult to believe that he does not exist with us any longer. Everything about him was constructive and forceful. His service to the U.S. Senate was admirably suited to his nature and his disposition.

He was persistent and aggressive in behalf of the people of his State and country. He was effective and articulate. He was compassionate, understanding, and courageous. I first knew him when he was manager of his brother's campaign for the Vice Presidency at the Chicago convention, later in his brother's campaign for President, later as Attorney General, then as Senator from the State of New York.

We are gathered in this Chamber to pay tribute to a beloved Member of the Senate who was a dear friend to so many of us. Now he is gone from our midst, but he left behind in the minds and hearts of his colleagues the glow of genuine friendship, warmth, and concern for his fellow man.

I should like to make a personal reference before I close.

It was my privilege to be with Robert Kennedy in the last days of his life. He stopped in Fargo on April 15 and was greeted by an outpouring of thousands. Overflow crowds met us at the airport, with literally hundreds trying to shake his hand or just touch him. I recall that the crowd was pressing against the automobile in which we were riding, and in caution I asked the people to step back away from the vehicle lest they be injured. One young lady, who was literally pressed into the side of the car, exclaimed, "I don't care!" This was an example of the admiration that people, particularly the young people in the Nation, held for Robert Kennedy. The streets of Fargo were lined with crowds from the airport to the city auditorium, which was filled to overflowing. Here was a tribute that could not be mistaken.

The next day, I flew to Eagle Butte, S. Dak., with the Senator to attend a hearing on Indian education. He revealed a deep insight into the plight of the Indians, and he expressed genuine sympathetic interest in their welfare.

After the hearing we flew to Rapid City, from there I went back to Fargo, and he flew on to the west coast. I was never to see him alive again, for later the world was to be shocked by his untimely and tragic death.

Robert Kennedy was in turn with the needs of the poor and the underprivileged, whether it was the poor on the Indian reservations or the poor in the ghettos. And they were in tune with him. It is most tragic that a man who understood these problems should have been taken from us, at a time when his understanding, and his service was so badly needed. So as we pay tribute today, let us take some inspiration and some determination, from the record of his life, in order to make our Nation a better place.

Hon. Frank E. Moss OF UTAH

Mr. President, I shall not try to enlarge on the place of Senator Robert F. Kennedy in our memories. His much too brief life spoke volumes.

Few other men have meant so much to so many in such a short lifetime. If there were lines around his eyes, it was because he had seen so many hungry children, and hopeless old people, and poor and minority group people who were victims of discrimination. If he seemed prematurely aged, it was because he sought so valiantly to create a society of individual and human justice.

I shall never forget the days I spent with this vibrant man with the keen, inquisitive mind early in July a year ago. After making a speech in Salt Lake City, he flew with me to Canyonlands National Park and then on to Lake Powell, where he rode its blue waters to see as much as he could of its spectacular scenery. We made a rendezvous with his wife and six of his children at Rainbow Bridge National Monument, where we all hiked to the great sandstone arch. He and his family went on from there to run the famous rapids of the Colorado River into the Grand Canyon.

July Fourth was a warm, uncomfortable day—a torrid day, truly—and it would have been easy for him to rest with his family in the lodge at Wahweap on Lake Powell. Instead, he chose to fly with me in a small plane, through turbulent air, to the Navajo Indian reservation, to see for

himself how our Indians lived, and what needed to be done for them. It was a long, exhausting day, but he did not spare himself for a moment. He wanted only to be sure that he was back at the lodge in time for the birthday celebration for his daughter Kathleen.

This was Bobby Kennedy—dedicated to the poor and the least of us, striving always to improve their lot, seeking always to see and know everything he could about his beloved country, yet always a devoted husband and father.

While he stood against want and fear in America, he stood just as resolutely for peace in the world, and he offered hope to those who despaired that peace would ever come. There are many who still feel that no one else wants to speak for them, that he, above all others, understood their frustration and their yearnings. He alone held the torch.

Bobby Kennedy was a man of compassion, of conscience, and of commitment. He remained to the end of his life a symbol of youth and a symbol of change. His concern for and dedication to his fellowmen and his country leave the world a better place in which to live.

Hon. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, I have heard most of the Senators who have spoken this morning, and I have never felt that the discussion was more profound in the understanding of our departed friend, Robert Kennedy.

Senators have expressed fully all of the facets of his life—his concepts, his understanding, his dedication, his energy, and his devotion to life, his Nation, and his family.

We all, of course, recall our personal associations and our work contacts with Robert Kennedy in the Senate. It was my good fortune, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, to have Senator Robert Kennedy as a member of my subcommittee. He brought to our work an electricity that inspired more than hope—it inspired action.

We worked closely together during hearings in Washington and, more important, in California. I emphasize the field trips because it was in the fields that I saw Robert Kennedy endeavor

to obtain a meaningful understanding of the migrant and his family. He learned firsthand of the overwhelming problems faced by migrant families. He experienced the voices and lives of hungry, poorly educated, poorly housed, unhealthy children and parents. And he shared their interest in obtaining human dignity through meaningful collective bargaining with their employers. He unselfishly applied himself to the development of practical solutions to those problems.

What Robert Kennedy did with this intimate firsthand knowledge was to represent the unrepresented. He proposed meaningful change through relevant programs in an effort to engender hope in their lives. It was the combination of Robert Kennedy's intimate knowledge, gained through the live encounters with the migrant, and Kennedy's idealism, foresight, and unswerving dedication, that gave special meaning to his own life and hope to the migrant.

As we traveled around the country, people who had never had any hope for any part of a good life saw him, heard him, and then obtained hope. With that hope, he demanded action, and action we have had. Not enough, it is true, but he helped us get on the road to bring the better life to over a million desperately poor people who harvest our food and fiber.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record some of the statements made by our late beloved Senator Kennedy which express concern and compassion for the migrant worker.

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 8, 1965.—How many people are going to suffer, how many children are going to die, and how many other older children are going to be uneducated while somebody is trying to find a solution to the problem?

VISALIA, CALIF., March 15, 1966.—I think what's incumbent upon us is to come up with a solution, and not just keep telling the poor farmworkers that it's too difficult to work out the solution to it.

VISALIA, CALIF., March 15, 1966.—Maybe we can't rectify all the things that have gone on in the past, but let's remedy the situation for the future and not just let it continue.

DELANO, CALIF., March 16, 1966.—I think you've got to give people an opportunity. Maybe they don't want it, but at least you've got to open the door to them. That's all I think members of the Committee are suggesting, not that you should recognize one union over another or one better than another, or even that there should be any union at all.

DELANO, CALIF., March 16, 1966.—The situation has not been concentrated just in this area of California, but generally around the United States over the period of the last 30 years, and those people (the farmworkers), whether the question is one of wages or working conditions or education, have been the ignored part of our population.

DELANO, CALIF., March 16, 1966.—It is not only our responsibility in Government. It is also the responsibility of people who are in management, of those who are growers, and those who are employees and have some leadership ability. All of us must try to do something to rectify the situation or it's never going to be changed.

Hon. Lister Hill

OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, I flew to New York City on the early morning of June 8 and attended the funeral services for Senator Robert F. Kennedy at St. Patrick's Cathedral. I then returned to Washington on the funeral train that day and attended the funeral of Senator Kennedy at Arlington National Cemetery late that evening.

The following Monday, on the floor of the Senate, I spoke of Senator Kennedy, of his many great services to our country, and particularly of his outstanding work as a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which I am the chairman. I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on that occasion be printed at this point in the Record.

It is worth noting, Mr. President, that never before in our history has one family sent three of its sons to the U.S. Senate: John, Robert, and Edward Kennedy. All three have served on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; all three during the time I have been privileged to be the committee's chairman; all three helping make major contributions to our country's welfare. These three brothers eagerly sought membership on the committee because it afforded them the greatest possible opportunity to search out and help enact solutions to the most pressing human problems of our time—the physical and mental health of our people; the education of our children and youth; the elimination of poverty and human misery in the cities and on the farms; rehabilitation of the handicapped; juvenile delinquency; protection of our elderly citizens; improvement of the wages and working conditions of the people employed in commerce, industry, and agriculture; fair and equitable relations between labor and management, the health, education, and adjustment to civil life of veterans of our Armed Forces, and many similar social and human problems.

During his 8 years as a Senator, John Kennedy served with grace and distinction as a member of the committee, rising to become chairman of its Subcommittee on Labor.

Edward Kennedy has served on the committee for the past 6 years and has become chairman of its Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs.

Robert Kennedy, as I have said, came to the committee immediately upon entering the Senate 3½ years ago.

Robert Kennedy was one of the most active and diligent members of our Labor and Public Welfare Committee. He sought to shoulder the greatest possible load of responsibilities that a junior member could undertake. He was a member of five of the seven standing subcommittees: Education, Labor, Veterans' Affairs, Migratory Labor, and Employment, Manpower, and Poverty. In addition, beginning in September of last year, he became chairman of our Special Subcommittee on Indian Education in which he showed intense interest and passionate concern. Although he was not a member of the Subcommittee on Health, of which I am chairman, he always strongly supported any and all legislation designed to protect and improve the health of our people.

While, at times, I found myself in disagreement with some of his proposals and positions, I could not and did not ignore the fact that he was motivated by a deep conviction that the goals he pursued were for the best interests of the Nation. He was a sincere and eloquent advocate of the causes he favored. He was genuinely moved by the evidences of misery, disease, and misfortune he observed in his extensive travels in connection with committee work. He took his membership on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and his duties thereon with utmost seriousness.

Last year, the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, of which he was a most active member, conducted an extensive survey of poverty, hunger, and malnutrition in America. With the subcommittee he traveled thousands of miles from the slums of Harlem to the Watts section of Los Angeles and the fruit fields of central California; from the Mississippi Delta to northern Wisconsin; from Appalachia to the south side of Chicago. In all his travels, in all his subcommittee work, he was always an assiduous and devoted participant. He did his best, despite many other duties pressed upon him as a Senator representing the great State of New York, to attend every committee hearing and every executive session. His keen intellect, the absorptive power of his mind, the retentive grasps of his memory, coupled with his extraordinary energy, drive, and zest, made him in a short time one of the best informed and knowledgeable experts among us on the vast range of public questions with which our committee is concerned.

One of his principal contributions in the effort to reduce the toll of human poverty was his amendment creating the special impact program, which established economic and business development programs in heavily populated low-income urban areas, to create job opportunities and training programs for the underemployed and the unemployed.

As a member of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, he was a powerful ally of the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Yarborough) in our successful struggle to establish a GI program for veterans of the cold war period.

On the Subcommittee on Education he worked hard and long beside the able Senator from Oregon (Mr.

Morse) in broadening and improving Federal assistance to our nation's schools and colleges and to the young people who attend them.

As a member of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, he was a strong right arm to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Williams) in helping bring about decent health, education and living conditions for hundreds of thousands of migrant workers and their families.

On the Subcommittee on Labor, he staunchly supported the efforts of the late Senator McNamara of Michigan and his successor as chairman of that subcommittee, Senator Yarborough, in bringing about major changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act, raising the minimum wage, and extending the act's protection to millions of additional workers.

Not only did he become expertly informed on all the great social problems we face, not only did he seek always to translate this knowledge into effective legislative responses, Senator Robert Kennedy likewise became a movingly expressive spokesman of the needs and aspirations of the disadvantaged, the poor, the sick, and the ill-nourished members of society.

As Solomon the Wise said:

"The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there no torment shall touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die and their going from us to be utter destruction but they are in peace."

As we unite in prayer that the soul of Robert Kennedy may rest in peace, let us unite in determination to bring peace to the souls of those who live on.

In closing, Mr. President, may I extend to Robert Kennedy's beloved wife, Ethel, and her bereaved children, his brother, Edward, and the other members of the Kennedy family, Mrs. Hill's and my deepest sympathy at this time of sorrow.

Mr. President, I rise to speak in sorrow for the second time in less than 5 years of the death of a member of the Kennedy family. On December 11, 1963, the Senate dedicated a day in memory of John F. Kennedy, murdered in the month before. Today, we speak of another Kennedy, foully slain as was his brother before him: "On Horror's head, horrors accumulate."

Again the Nation and the world stand with bowed heads in mourning the loss of a gallant American. Again, a whole people are shocked over another cruel and senseless act of violence.

May I say that following Senator Kennedy's death, from the top of the Capitol of my State of Alabama in Montgomery, the Confederate flag flew at half mast for him, and Gov. Albert Brewer spoke these words:

It would be my prayer that this shocking event will precipitate a return to what has been absent from this Nation for much too long—a true respect for law and order and an end to senseless violence.

Mr. President, it was as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on which Robert Kennedy served since he entered the Senate in January 1965, that I had occasion to work with him day by day and to best come to know him and admire him.

Hon. Eugene J. McCarthy

OF MINNESOTA

Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in the Senate today in paying tribute to the life and service of Senator Robert Kennedy of New York.

Among those who knew him well and outside the field of politics, he elicited a deep and continuing friendship. These friendships were marked by great warmth and loyalty which transcended differences in age and political differences.

It was in the field of politics that I knew him best.

His record through the years as a most loyal, ardent, and self-sacrificing aide of his brother is known to all Senators and to the American people; and also his record following the death of President Kennedy, when he assumed in a very special way the burden of carrying forward what had been started and in the same spirit moved on into new fields of need and of concern in this Nation.

He was the most worthy advocate—dedicated, energetic—committing all of his strength to the end of achieving the objectives which he had concluded were for the good of this country.

I shall conclude with excerpts from a column written by Mary McGrory, who knew him both as a friend and as a politician, and published in the Washington Evening Star:

He was a gifted person.

He intensified life for those who knew him and for those who did not.

He was decent and pious.

He was good to widows and orphans.

He visited the sick and comforted the dying.

He was courageous and cautious.

He saw life in his own terms, convinced of what was right for others if not for himself.

He had a capacity for giving total devotion and inspiring it.

Hon. Philip A. Hart

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, when the assassin's bullet brought down Robert Kennedy, the first reaction was born of shock and horror.

Cries for gun regulation, for help for the mentally ill, for adequate protection of our presidential candidates were the wails of shock.

Even eulogies for the man—this young, vibrant, dashing, captivating man—tended more to be the pouring out of our own personal grief than a dispassionate analysis of his contributions.

It is well, then, that the Senate waited until these weeks had passed to pay its formal tribute to Senator Robert F. Kennedy; for, while horror at the manner of his death remains—and will remain with each of us until our own deaths—perspective is easier.

What, then, can we say today of Robert Kennedy—of his contributions, made and anticipated?

In first recalling him, we think of the marks—which singled him out; the physical attractiveness, the wit, the energy, the love of family, the keen mind, the grin.

Many are so blessed, but few capture the hearts of a nation as Robert Kennedy did.

The rare quality Robert Kennedy had—we were repeatedly told—was charisma. Webster defines that as a “personal magic of leadership.”

Some would have you believe that charisma is a God-given gift, allotted only to the select who are to lead nations and armies out of despair. This may be. But I think not.

I would say that charisma is established between a people and a leader in the way trust is established between a mother and child—or between a father and a son.

Thousands in this Nation looked on Robert Kennedy and did not see a young man, richly endowed personally and financially. They saw instead a man who chose to face degradation, fatigue, ridicule—and even death—to be a champion for those who needed a champion.

In short, Robert Kennedy's charisma came because he stripped his heart and his soul open for the view of the people—and what they saw there was love, deep and real, for his fellow man.

It was the charisma of John F. Kennedy—of

Martin Luther King, Jr. And it was the lesson of Robert Kennedy and of another who lived 2,000 years ago: Love one another.

If we learn this from Robert F. Kennedy, his brief time on earth will have been long enough.

Hon. Gale W. McGee

OF WYOMING

Mr. President, I delayed in arriving for the eulogies for one reason that might seem particularly understandable on this special occasion. For several months I had agreed to participate in a seminar of Senate interns, the youth of the land and some of the very cream of the crop. I do not know of any participation that would have been more in the exciting tradition of Bob Kennedy than that.

History is going to say many things, I am sure, about the late Senator from New York because, indeed, he was a man of many parts. He was a man who served responsibly and well in the thankless task of participating in the launching of an exciting new government in the land—a government which, as one writer described, brought a new atmosphere and a new sense of wanting to do something to the sometimes tired halls of Government. This certainly was a key role of Bob Kennedy at the time his brother, the late John F. Kennedy, came to Washington to be President.

But this memory of Bob Kennedy does not do him justice, because it is only one part of Robert Kennedy. In his role in the Senate he went out of his way to stand, and to stand tall, on some of the most troublesome and meaningful issues of our time. If one had to capsule those issues in general, I think it would be fair to describe them as the issues of hope, the issues that had something to do about tomorrow.

It is not without point to mention that for many of us in this body those are not the easiest kinds of questions on which to take a strong stand far in advance of their time. But this memory seems to me to reflect Bob Kennedy's deepest concern for where we can go from here, even more than where we have been.

Having said that about Bob Kennedy, I think it is important to allude to that part of the man that first struck me and perhaps may even remain the longest in my memory. I was always

taken with the obvious genuineness of the joy he derived from being with kids, not only his own kids, even though he was a great one with them, but with just kids—my kids and the kids of many Members of this body. He seemed to go out of his way to indulge in those occasions that meant so much to youngsters.

I think perhaps the first time I met him was when he was Attorney General and he was devoting his Saturday to having fun with a whole assortment of kids.

Mr. President, it is not easy for most of us in a busy life to find that kind of time and it certainly is not easy to get a big kick out of it, but for Bob Kennedy this seemed to be for real. The understanding, love, and the warmth of his concern for children, will, I think, loom as one of the largest hallmarks of his character, personality, and service when the record of our time is completed.

He visited the State of Wyoming on many occasions. He was one of those personalities who excited and inspired the people in my State. Perhaps most of all, however, in his official roles and in his wanderings around the world, I think his impact on youth of all ages—and I speak of youth as a state of mind—was epitomized in the hopeful and exciting things of tomorrow that are sometimes only dimly seen by the rest of us. It gave him a sense of rapport, a contact, a dialog, an understanding that the rest of us lack, and which we pretend to cover up with something we call the generation gap.

In my judgment, Robert Kennedy will stand tall before the bar of history, and when that record is reviewed by subsequent generations, they will find in this inspirational colleague of ours many guidelines for their own time, a man, in truth, of many parts.

Hon. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.

OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to the memory of the late Senator Robert Kennedy whose tragic death shocked the Nation.

I speak as one who did not too often agree on issues with the junior Senator from New York. But I respected his views as springing from a deep

and compassionate concern for the best interests of the Nation.

I recall when Senator Kennedy joined me in protesting the denial of a visa to Prime Minister Smith, of Rhodesia, to speak before the student legal forum at the University of Virginia. Senator Kennedy was once president of that forum.

Although we were in disagreement on U.S. Rhodesian policy, Senator Kennedy did not hesitate to set aside those views out of concern for the larger principle of free speech.

Although Senator Kennedy was born in Massachusetts and represented the State of New York, he had ties to Virginia. He received his law degree from the University of Virginia Law School in 1951, and he lived at historic Hickory Hill, McLean, Va. He found many friends in our Commonwealth, and his death was deeply mourned.

I think I speak for all Virginians in expressing a sense of loss at the untimely death of this energetic and compassionate public official.

Hon. Edward W. Brooke

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. President, when we speak with sorrow and regret of the passing of our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, our grief mirrors that of the Nation and the world. His vitality and vigor, his enthusiasm and concern, his sensitivity and compassion for the poor and underprivileged, were his most apparent public qualities. Millions loved and admired him, for in these ways he represented the best that is America.

We who were privileged to serve with him suffer his passing most keenly, for with his death, Congress was deprived of a distinguished champion in the cause of human rights. It is given to us to mourn, but also to serve. It is given to us to bear the loss, but also to share the burden. It is given to us to lead where he had led, to fulfill the promise to the underprivileged, to spur the conscience and the imagination of a people too long dormant to the feelings of their fellow men.

To his family and his multitude of friends, we extend our sympathy and our continuing support. To the millions who never knew him, but loved him for his vision and shared with him their dreams, we promise our commitment and our help. And we must dedicate ourselves anew to

carry forward the ideals of brotherhood and service to man which Robert Kennedy so ably advanced.

Hon. Daniel B. Brewster

OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, it is painful to reflect on the death of Robert Kennedy.

Eight weeks after the assassination in Los Angeles, this terrible event continues to evoke sadness, bitterness, and confusion.

We are sad first of all for the Kennedy family, and mindful of the terrible losses they have suffered. What comfort can there be for a family who has seen two of its own struck down at the peak of their lives by acts of sheer madness? Their strength in time of tragedy has twice brought inspiration to us all, but unhappily it is they, not we, who have been the most direct victims of national tragedy.

We are sad for the whole country as well. Robert Kennedy's assassination weighs heavily on its conscience.

We ask how we can tolerate these acts of violence. We have never tolerated them, but they have occurred anyway.

We then ask why they occur; what is there in our midst that breeds hatred and killing? How could we have allowed this cancer to grow?

And when we try to answer these questions, we come face to face with the same problems Robert Kennedy desired so earnestly to solve.

He could have chosen an easy and untroubled life. Instead he dedicated himself to an arduous career whose instrument was politics but whose goal was to bring justice and a fair chance to all Americans.

Robert Kennedy breathed fresh air into American politics. He fused idealism and pragmatism with a creative energy that is legendary in its own time.

American politics have not been the same without Robert Kennedy, just as they were changed unalterably by the death of John Kennedy. We can draw consolation, however, from the presence in the Senate of Edward Kennedy, and I hope his intelligent voice will continue to be heard on the challenges we face for decades to come.

The Kennedy family has tasted the best and

the worst of the American political system. The best they deserved; the worst has been cruelly inflicted upon them.

It was my pleasure and my honor to serve in the Senate with Robert Kennedy. I miss his charm and his wit and his great idealism, and I hope that it will not be long before his vision of a more just and peaceful America comes into being.

Hon. Charles H. Percy
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, like all Senators, I mourn the death of Robert Kennedy. Not the death—but the irrevocable absence. Like you, I knew him as a colleague. I will miss his clear and penetrating judgments. And I will also miss the friend—the gentle man who understood a loss in my own family, and who offered the comfort of his compassion and his understanding.

Robert Kennedy's absence will be felt by those who knew him well—by those who called him friend and colleague.

But Robert Kennedy will also be missed by those who barely knew him but who sensed his spirit of hope—his commitment to his country and to all its people.

Not long ago, I visited a health clinic in Alviso, Calif., which was to have been dedicated by Robert Kennedy. I went to fulfill a pledge by a Member of the Senate to visit this community of Spanish-speaking people.

They spoke to me about Robert Kennedy that day in Alviso. They told me he understood them. And they sensed his concern for their problems. They believed in him—and they believed he would help them.

Ralph Chaplain said:

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie, dust unto dust—

The calm sweet earth that mothers all who die
As all men must;

But rather mourn the apathetic throng,
The coward and the meek

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong,
And dare not speak.

Mr. President, perhaps the most appropriate way to honor Robert Kennedy today would be to remember his concern for the needy in our Nation and to recommit our labors to uplifting this land.

Hon. Stephen M. Young
OF OHIO

Mr. President, it is with a feeling of sadness that I join other Senators in expressing our sorrow over the death of our colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Few Americans were as uncompromisingly concerned as he was with the struggle for justice for the hungry, the jobless, the underprivileged, and the oppressed and for the need for our Nation to make a greater effort toward ending the war in Vietnam and moving a step nearer to worldwide peace.

Robert F. Kennedy lived daily with enormous personal burdens of duty and moral commitment. With great courage he assumed leadership in the cause of the alienated, the dispossessed, the underprivileged, the poor and the hopeless and in doing so he helped bring forth a creative energy latent in our society.

It can be said that the murder of Senator Kennedy was the deed of one irrational man—a misguided extremist. The same could be said of the assassination of his brother, the late, great President John F. Kennedy, and of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. That is a valid explanation insofar as it goes, but it does not absolve our society from some responsibility for these tragic events. The truth must be faced that these insane acts are in some way attributable to the dangerous tensions and the deep stresses that have afflicted our Nation in recent years.

Let us hope that the senseless assassination of Senator Kennedy will result in a dedication by all Americans to eradicate the divisiveness that threatens to alienate one American from another, and in a renewal of the bright promise of America.

Mr. President, violence and crime are increasingly rampant throughout the Nation. We Americans need God's help. We in Congress have responsibility to enact into law more effective gun control legislation to minimize the danger of bloodshed, violence and death contributed to us by the present unrestricted and insane traffic in firearms.

In the Senate Chamber my desk was very close to that of Senator Robert Kennedy. We frequently talked together, as less than 2 yards separated our chairs in the Senate Chamber. It was my privilege to speak with him very often. I

came to know him as a fine, personable young man who was very witty in his conversation, very knowledgeable, and very much opposed to our Vietnam involvement. He was a truly dedicated public official, a real leader in our Nation, and was held in affectionate regard by his Senate colleagues.

I extend my sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children and to all members of the Kennedy family who have known death and heartbreak as few families have. They have lost a husband, father, son, and brother. The Nation has lost one of its finest sons and a leader of great promise.

I held him in high admiration for his quick grasp of the details of a legislative proposal.

Hon. Norris Cotton

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, I join in the tribute which is paid today to the memory of our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I knew Senator Kennedy as an aggressive and energetic member of the Senate's own staff. While serving on the Committee on the Judiciary, I knew him as Attorney General of the United States. I had the pleasure and privilege of serving with him in this body until his tragic and untimely death. I long have admired his ability, his personality, and his dedication to those goals in which he believed. We shall miss his counsel and his participation in the discussion of the grave problems with which we are confronted.

It is with all the sincerity at my command that I express my deep personal sorrow for his family and for our Nation which has lost his services. It is beyond human understanding that one who had so many years before him and so much constructive ability from which to contribute should be struck down. The Nation grieves, and justly so.

Hon. Ernest F. Hollings

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy, dedicated to change, died in transit. When I met him in 1954, he was shy and groping for problems to solve. At death, he groped for solutions. Earlier he chal-

lenged labor racketeering, and then, with his brother, developed the New Frontier. Working for civil rights, he acted responsibly—but was chastised for being too fast and too slow. The President's assassination sped civil rights to reality and, still shy, Robert tried not to become a candidate. The crowds, the amenities, the tolerance of bias, and the indulgence of incompetence necessary to politics was his last desire.

Perhaps a Kennedy Foundation was the answer. But no, this would only scratch the surface. Moreover, a torch had been lit, and he was its bearer. To solve, he must involve. Against tradition that he respected, he went to New York and became its Senator. And, like the American scene, he changed. He realized the rebuff to change, the rebuff to young ideas, the rebuff to the poor. To him this was unacceptable. Having seen the goal, he raced in that direction. There was not time, as Burns wrote, "to see oursel's as ithers see us." And "ithers" saw a different goal—public office at any price. The very divisiveness he sought to heal, he irritated. As well as a solution, Robert became a part of the problem. And, as a man, he will remain controversial.

For me he was an understanding friend, the most moral of men, willing to change for the good, and die for the poor. He had been uncomfortable for a long time. Because of his moral courage to recognize the poor and young whom we have ignored, we shall be uncomfortable until we take heed. For, as John Kennedy is remembered for bringing class to public service, Robert Kennedy will be remembered for bringing public service to the classes.

Hon. J. Caleb Boggs

OF DELAWARE

Mr. President, although I did not serve on any committees with the late Senator from New York, I did have occasion to talk to him on a number of occasions about matters of common interest; and I always found him to be friendly and helpful.

He was a man intense about his responsibilities and determined to make the greatest contribution possible to the Senate and to his country.

Our Nation's vigor depends on the contributions of its citizens in all walks of life. A particularly valuable contribution was lost with the

passing of the distinguished Senator from New York; and I join my colleagues in mourning not only the loss of his presence, but the loss of his capacity to illuminate our deliberations with his special insight into the problems of the day.

Mr. President, my special condolences are extended to his widow and children and also to our distinguished colleague, his brother, the senior Senator from Massachusetts.

Hon. Thomas J. McIntyre OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, if America is blessed, she is blessed not only with the quality of her institutions, but with the quality of the men who guide her destiny.

Such a man was Robert Kennedy.

Like his brother before him, he stood tall and gave his whole spirit and being to his fellow countrymen.

And now he has given his life.

Life asked much of Robert Kennedy. It gave him a wonderful family, a keen and inquisitive mind, and an important role to play in his Nation's affairs. But it also took much. It took his brother, John; it must have sapped his energy many times when he was attacked and criticized; and, now, it has demanded the supreme sacrifice.

For Robert Kennedy, the fight is now over. But the battle goes on. And if there is a single consolation in his tragic death, it is this: that the world was touched by this man while he lived.

His concern and dedication for his fellow man leaves this cold and cruel world just a little warmer. And his memory during the dark days ahead, will provide a beacon to light the path before us.

His life as Shakespeare wrote:

Was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "That was a man!"

Hon. Gordon Allott OF COLORADO

Mr. President, I should like to add my voice to those of my distinguished colleagues in paying tribute to the late Robert F. Kennedy.

As that great Senator from another mighty civilization long ago, Marcus Tullius Cicero, once observed:

The life of the dead is placed in the memory of the living.

Truly the memory of Robert Kennedy and all he stood for will be with us from this time forward as we carry on the affairs of the Government, to which he devoted himself so completely.

Not all of us who honor his memory found ourselves completely in agreement with this remarkable young man. Yet even though our philosophy differed, each had the highest respect for his unyielding dedication to his principles and causes.

The death of Robert Kennedy was a reminder to us all that no day is ever like the day before, and that life is but a stopping place on the way to eternity. During life on earth each of us is required to make his contribution according to his abilities and position. Thus, even though Senator Kennedy was felled far short of his expected lifespan, his role here on earth was completed, if not totally fulfilled by the time of his sudden death.

May God grant eternal rest to his soul, and serenity and peace to the long suffering Kennedy family whose graceful perseverance in the face of tragedy has touched us all.

Hon. William B. Spong, Jr. OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, while the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy represented the State of New York and spent much of his life as a resident of Massachusetts, he is also identified with the Commonwealth of Virginia. Senator Kennedy received his legal education at the University of Virginia; he resided at Hickory Hill in McLean, Va.; and in early June of this year was laid to rest in the rolling hills of Virginia at Arlington National Cemetery.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once wrote:

As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, as the peril of being judged not to have lived.

Robert Francis Kennedy shared full measure the action of his time. He was a man who evoked passion and was capable of much compassion; a

man some feared as a piper trying to lure the young off to a newer world; a man others loved because he cared for those less fortunate and less endowed; a man who in the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt "dared mighty things." He was above all a man of action.

Since his death we have had opportunity to reflect upon the shock and self-analysis our Nation has again experienced from an assassin's bullet. There is more divisiveness in America today than in most any time in our history—black against white, rich against poor, young against old, and dove against hawk. Never before have Americans appeared more intolerant of the views of others. Senator Kennedy recognized the estrangement and divisiveness that threatened our Nation.

Many will remember the compassion he had for the unfortunate of our world, and the seriousness and determination he applied to the hope to relieve suffering and deprivation everywhere. In the months I served with him in the Senate, I found beneath the toughness that was displayed on occasion and the shyness that was so evident at other times a man with a marvelous sense of humor—a man who could laugh as well as cry. It is that shy humor that I shall remember.

I am pleased to join with Senators today in paying tribute to Robert Francis Kennedy and to honor his memory.

Hon. William Proxmire OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President, Senator Robert F. Kennedy served in the U.S. Senate with dedication and humor, with passion and compassion, with imagination and intelligence, but above all with honesty.

Here was the keystone to this remarkable man's character. He was bluntly honest in a body in which honesty—at least blunt and straightforward and unrelenting honesty—is not always a virtue. And Senator Robert Kennedy exemplified that virtue.

There was no reason why he had to immerse himself so deeply in the struggle against poverty in this country. There are more votes against than for the poverty warrior. Every knowledgeable politician—and Bob Kennedy was one of the most knowledgeable—knows that few of the poor are registered and that fewer vote.

It would have been the easy course to ignore the nuclear proliferation issue or the miserable plight of hundreds of millions in Latin America. There is no political gold to mine in those issues.

But here are the great injustices, the great dangers, of our time. And Senator Robert Kennedy was the greatest national voice in speaking out on these issues.

He stirred the conscience of his country. He stirred the conscience of this body.

In Wisconsin, as in 49 other States, he was a figure of controversy. But we remember Senator Kennedy in Wisconsin as the man who handled that great campaign for his brother—the President—in 1960. Wisconsin had never before seen a campaign with the verve, the drive, that the Kennedys, especially Robert Kennedy, brought to it.

Mr. President, one of the most fervent supporters of Robert Kennedy in our State was our former State chairman and Lieutenant Governor, Patrick Lucey. A few days ago at our Democratic State convention, in Milwaukee, Pat Lucey delivered a beautiful and stirring eulogy to Robert Kennedy.

I ask unanimous consent that that eulogy be printed in the Record.

EULOGY DELIVERED BY PATRICK J. LUCEY AT DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION, FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1968

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates: I cannot tell you how sorry I am that this convention could not have opened on schedule 6 weeks ago.

Had an assassin's hand been stayed, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy would have keynoted this convention. Hundreds of thousands of cheering citizens would have lined the streets from Billy Mitchell Field to this banquet hall. A surge of excitement would have passed through a cheering capacity crowd in this room as he rose to speak.

All of you would have shared a sense of participation in the making of history as you did in 1960.

Whatever your own candidate preference, you would have felt the satisfaction of involvement in the making of a president. And as we departed this convention, a scent of victory would have been in the air, and each of us would have felt somehow ennobled by our commitment to a larger purpose.

The magic is gone—the demand that we do better is silenced—the voice of conscience is stilled.

Who is there now to remind us that we are, in fact, our brother's keeper? Who is there to say that this sin of omission is unacceptable, or that condition of hardship among the less fortunate is unsatisfactory?

Who will call us to account? Who will remind us of our responsibilities, not just our advantages?

Who will take in his hand the black hand of a

troubled child in a steaming ghetto, and lead that child into a decent classroom?

Who will go to the original concentration camp, the American Indian Reservation, and convince the red-skinned teenager that suicide is not the best solution to his problems?

Who now can erase the bloody nightmare of Vietnam and make us again worthy of moral leadership on this planet?

Had Robert Francis Kennedy lived, he would have been present at this convention. He would have placed before you the agenda of our nation's unfinished business. He would have insisted that we can do better.

There are those who say his campaign was an exercise in futility, that he could not have won the nomination of our party. But Andrew Jackson once said "One Man With Courage Makes a Majority." No one has ever charged that Robert Francis Kennedy lacked courage.

During the final 6 months of Senator Kennedy's life, I saw much of him. I stood with him in the ghetto of Indianapolis as he announced to his vast Negro audience that Martin Luther King was dead. I watched and listened as his speech became a prayer, and his audience returned quietly to their homes.

I sat before him the next day in Cleveland as he spoke to the City Club of his concern about violence in our society.

For 5 weeks I served his cause in Nebraska, and then moved on to Portland and San Francisco, and finally stood by helplessly that terrible final night in Los Angeles.

Robert Francis Kennedy was probably the most misunderstood man in our society. He was called ruthless—but few remember that this label was first applied by James Hoffa.

Many resented his appointment by President Kennedy as Attorney General, but as he left that office, the Washington Post summed up his record as follows:

"He has guided more important legislation through Congress than did any of his predecessors in the past 30 years. He has made the Federal Government, for the first time, a vigorous enemy of organized crime. He has pushed equal rights for all Americans."

In one of Dr. King's finest sermons, he helped to explain the lack of understanding of the personality of Robert Kennedy. Dr. King suggested that "we must combine the toughness of the serpent and the softness of the dove, a tough mind and a tender heart." Robert Kennedy was of tender heart. He was a man of great compassion. He was at the same time tough minded, exacting, impatient of slothfulness.

In an introduction of Robert Kennedy in South Dakota, April 16, Senator George McGovern told his audience: "You people know the affection and esteem I held for President Kennedy, but it is my carefully measured conviction that Senator Robert F. Kennedy, even more than our beloved President, would now bring to the Presidency a deeper measure of experience and a more profound capacity to lead our troubled land into the light of a new day."

In the same speech, Senator McGovern said of Senator Kennedy that he would "become one of the three or four greatest Presidents in our history."

Many of us found it difficult to put aside the grief that followed the death of President Kennedy, but at least to him it was given to chart his course—to lay before us his clearly defined goals. Robert Kennedy's plans were just beginning to unfold. His programs were still to be outlined. His potential was just beginning to reach the people.

Perhaps the one occasion when millions of Americans found it easiest to identify with Robert Kennedy was 4 years ago as he stood briefly before the delegates to the National Convention, and a national television audience, to introduce a film about his brother. For that occasion, he chose a passage from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*:

And, when he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

As I stood at Arlington in November 1963, I stood again in June 1968—to see Robert Francis Kennedy buried at his brother's side. And as we read on in *Romeo and Juliet*, we find these lines:

"Then, dreadful trumpet, sound the general doom!
For who is living, if those two are gone?"

It would be easy to step aside—to say all is lost—to abandon hope. But such an act of cowardice would hardly be a fitting tribute to a man of compassion, conviction, and courage.

Rather, let us recall a few lines from the musical play "The Man From La Mancha":

To dream the impossible dream
To fight the unbeatable foe
To bear the unbearable sorrow
To run where the brave dare not go.

To right the unrightable wrong
To love pure and chaste from afar
To try when your arms are too weary
To reach the unreachable star.

This is my quest . . .
To follow that star
No matter how hopeless
No matter how far.

To fight for the right . . .
Without question or pause
To be willing to march into hell
For a heavenly cause.

And I know if I'll only be true
To this glorious quest . . .
That my heart will lie peaceful and calm
When I'm laid to my rest.

And the world will be better for this
That one man, scorned and covered with scars,
Still strove with his last ounce of courage
To reach the unreachable star."

Our children can live in a better world because Robert Francis Kennedy had a dream, and the courage to try—but theirs will be a better world only if we accept with

President John Kennedy "That here on earth, God's work must truly be our own."

Come, my friends, 'tis still not too late to seek a newer world.

Hon. Clifford P. Hansen

OF WYOMING

Mr. President, few young men in history have gained the attention and won the admiration and affection of more of their countrymen than did Robert Kennedy. I add my voice to the thousands who praise his devotion to country through his role in its governing bodies, and I pay tribute to another facet of his contribution to America.

As the proud father of 10 youngsters and the husband of a loving and devoted wife, Robert Kennedy demonstrated the importance of the family as a driving force in our society—and this at a time when the family unit seemed to be losing significance.

The Kennedy family is known and loved everywhere as a brilliant example of solidarity and as proof that the family unit will continue to be the determining force in instilling in Americans those attributes we most desire and admire.

While few of his friends and colleagues may have agreed with him in every area of his wide-ranging political and social interests, all of us will admit that he challenged us with his awareness and discernment of America's problems—including the obvious ones like the Vietnam war, the problems of the cities, and human rights—and some obscure problems some of us would have preferred not to face.

Typical of his probing interest in the well-being of his fellow Americans was his investigation and reporting of poverty among Indians. He undertook a series of visits and committee hearings in an effort to find ways to come to grips with this problem. I applaud his conscientious and significant contributions in this area.

Robert Kennedy's astuteness in getting to the crux of a national problem was demonstrated by his understanding of the need for meaningful jobs and responsibilities for Americans now locked in the vicious cycle of welfare handouts.

He did care about his fellow human beings, and because he cared enough to take specific action—however controversial it may have been at times—his memory is and will always be a symbol of hope to Americans.

Hon. Joseph M. Montoya

OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, this Chamber has seen the progression of our land in terms of men and events. These walls have been witness to war, death, strife, triumph and, above all, the immortality of the human spirit and our basic ideas. Robert F. Kennedy was one of us. We all knew him. Certainly we all respected him. Some of us loved him.

From time to time unique men come among us. They give voice, these men—these few—to the noblest sentiments and motivations of humankind. They bring a message difficult for most to understand: that man is a creature of love, not hate; of compassion, not vindictiveness; of the warmth of his heart, not the cold of his selfishness.

They preach and call for brotherhood and equality and seek to elevate man to a higher plane. It is to save us from ourselves that they speak and act thusly. Pleading for man to man, they often are misunderstood by men.

It is because they give voice to the noblest expressions of human character that they engender fear in the hearts of the marginal individuals among us. They may be called Socrates or Ghandi or King.

In our time, for the second time, they have been called Kennedy. Truly, my heart is sore within me as I utter these words. For the second time I have watched a heart-rending procession of this type to Arlington. His family has lost a father and husband. The Senate has lost a unique and invaluable Member. Our country has lost an American of immense stature. The world has lost one who gave its voiceless people compassion and hope.

Yet by his life and death he has set an example, illuminated goals, and left us a most worthy heritage. His belief in our land must be ours. His warmth for the oppressed must be ours. His desire to uplift man must be ours. When these few men come among us, what do we do? Do we harken unto them? Do we show respect to them? Do we implement their ideas? No. We kill them. But after grief and shock comes realization and then determination. Just as those other great human beings have been recognized for what they were, this man, too, will find his rightful place in our hearts, minds, and heritage.

All men are equal in the eyes of God. All men are equal in the eyes of our laws and institutions. All men must strive for the everyday realization of these dreams. The moment we deny any of these truths to any of our fellows, they become a nullity and mockery to all the rest of us.

Let us draw this example from the life and sacrifice of Robert F. Kennedy. Let his passing give us renewed vigor and determination to set the wrongs of our Nation aright. Let us stretch forth hand and heart of compassion to those who have known only deprivation and want.

Let us do it in the name of this man and all the others who died not only because of their fellow men, but because of their belief in them. No more fitting monument could be created or desired by the Robert Francis Kennedy I knew.

May God grant him the peace of those who are beloved.

Hon. Hiram L. Fong OF HAWAII

Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, so cruelly deprived of his life by an assassin's bullet less than 2 months ago.

I know I speak for the people of Hawaii when I say we mourn the untimely passing of one of America's outstanding leaders and we weep for his family burdened by this new grief so soon after the tragic death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, also struck down by an assassin.

We weep, too, for America. For our Nation has lost a voice that pricked our conscience and a force that prodded us always to do better. We who served with him in this Chamber know how deeply he held his conviction that America must always push forward on social progress and social justice. Never content with the status quo for himself, Robert Kennedy was never content to let America rest on her oars.

In a day when many seek escape from the pressing problems tormenting America, Robert Kennedy never waived in his efforts to overcome these problems, always giving an extra measure of devotion to duty.

Born to material wealth, Robert Kennedy could have existed—comfortably and safely—in indolent ease. But like his brother, Jack, he chose instead to enter the controversial arena of govern-

ment and to dedicate himself to serving his countrymen. He added a new dimension to modern political history.

It is a tribute to his character that he, a man who had never known poverty, was regarded by millions of poor people as their champion. His innate decency and compassion for the less fortunate endeared him to millions.

He attracted other millions by his brilliance, vigor, courage, daring, innovativeness, idealism, humanitarianism, and optimism. Robert Kennedy exuded the vitality and spirit of America.

It was my privilege to know Robert Kennedy when he was Attorney General of the United States, and I worked with him here in the Senate during his all too brief tenure. I was greatly impressed with his ability and his perseverance in the pursuit of what he believed right. In the legislative battles that were fought in this Chamber, he proved himself an able ally and a worthy opponent.

Our hearts go out to his wife, Ethel, to his children, to his brother, Ted, our colleague, and to the members of his family on whom so much tragedy has been visited. We hope they can derive some measure of comfort from these expressions of esteem, respect, and affection for their beloved Bobby, whose memory we honor today. We hope those of his children who are too young to hold fast the memory of their father will, through these tributes, in years to come know him as we knew him.

Mrs. Fong joins me in extending our prayers and deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family.

Hon. Birch Bayh OF INDIANA

Mr. President, with the death of Robert F. Kennedy, the flame that lights our lives burns a little more dimly.

The light that he gave us was a flame of passion—passion for justice, for mercy, for peace.

The all-too-brief candle of his life set for those of us who live after him a glowing challenge—the challenge to try, with every fiber of our beings, to emulate his example of willingness to serve the Nation without fear or favor; to demonstrate a manifest concern for the suffering of humanity; to maintain a deep and abiding belief that, with God's help, the United States of Amer-

ica can be the torch that will light the way of the world toward a just and lasting peace.

Too often when leaders of the stature of Robert Kennedy have been cut down senselessly in the prime of life, the first reaction has been that of anger, followed by sadness and melancholy, which in turn dissolves into little more than revered memory. As time passes, even memory, while cherished, tends to become blurred and little that is positive may be accomplished in their name.

If Robert Kennedy's life had meaning, if he is not to have lived nor died in vain, we must not lapse into inaction.

Some may not always have liked the things he said nor agreed with the things he believed. But, like the prophets of Israel, he summoned us to action by holding a mirror before us so that we saw plainly the scars and imperfections on the face of America.

It is never easy to face up to one's own shortcomings, but when the pain of self-examination passes, we are surely the better for it.

When Othello tells Desdemona of his own distress and pain, he tells of her reaction:

My story being done, she gave me for my pains a world of sighs; she swore in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange, 'twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful; she wished she had not heard it, yet she wished that heaven had made her such a man.

Robert Kennedy's life is done, but not his story. For his pains, we must give him more than a world of sighs. He told us of the pitiful in our land and in our world. Perhaps some wished they had not heard it. Yet all of us are thankful that heaven made us such a man.

Hon. Thomas J. Dodd

OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, I join Senators in lamenting the tragic death of our friend and fellow Senator, Robert Kennedy.

In some measure, the death of any man diminishes the light of life in all of us.

But the senseless murder of Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles cast a shadow over the Nation nearly as large as on that terrible day in Dallas when his brother was cut down by the assassin's bullet.

Robert Kennedy was a good man, a warm and loving father and husband, and an outstanding public servant.

He was a man of great courage, and his tragically short but productive life will serve as a guiding light for the young of the Nation to follow. He will be remembered by most of us for his great hope for improving the lot of mankind in this country and the world and for his dedication to that great objective.

Hon. James O. Eastland

OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, once again sadness is our subject in the Senate of the United States and, once again, the name Kennedy is spoken.

It is fitting for that name to be sounded in this Chamber. Three young men have joined it with all that the title Senator encompasses.

It is tragic for the Senate and sorrow to be linked together again in tribute to a man named Kennedy.

I am mindful this morning of a phrase from a stirring inaugural address which challenged Americans saying:

Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

The Kennedy family has met that challenge—laid down by one of their own—and the price they have paid weighs heavy on the heart of humanity.

The eldest brother slain in battle defending his country, the next brother assassinated while serving as his country's leader in that position which has been described as the highest temporal office on the earth, and now we meet to mark the loss of the third brother, also cut down in the summer of his years.

Mr. President, how shall we express in words the depth of the sympathy which we extend to Bob Kennedy's loved ones—the sense of loss which his passing brought to millions who admired him and followed him—the sad fact that his absence from these Halls will be felt across the years to come?

What would be a fitting final tribute to Robert Francis Kennedy?

I think that the last brother delivered that tribute when, in moving language, Senator Ed-

ward Kennedy asked that Bob be remembered as a good and decent man.

Mr. President, I suggest that when each of us present on this solemn occasion concludes his life's labors—as each of us must—we will have attained the great goal if we are remembered, as Senator Robert Kennedy will be, as good and decent men.

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge

OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, the Nation and the U.S. Senate mourn the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. His assassination was a shock felt by all the people of the country. It was a terrible blow to the Senate, where he served for only a relatively short time, but with distinction. It was a personal tragedy to the Kennedy family, which has known more than its share of heart-break and sorrow.

Senator Kennedy was struck down in his prime. He was a young man, but in the Kennedy tradition he had long been in the mainstream of American political leadership, as counsel to senatorial committees, as U.S. Attorney General, and as chief adviser to his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, whose spirit he kept alive and whose work he sought to continue.

Bobby Kennedy, like his slain brother, reflected much of the greatness that is America—toughness, aggressiveness, and competitiveness combined with a deep personal compassion for the needs of his fellow man. We may not always have agreed with Senator Kennedy on every issue, or he with us, but we respected his ability, his conviction, and his unflagging devotion to duty. Senator Kennedy was a strong man and sometimes, as with all men of strength and quick mind, this rendered him the subject of criticism. But millions upon millions of people the world over—especially youth—saw in him the strength that characterizes America.

Senator Kennedy traveled and campaigned in Georgia on several occasions, and he had many friends and supporters in my State. Americans and Georgians will long mourn his death, and his presence will be missed in the Senate.

Robert Kennedy left a legacy of hope that all American people will unite in a common quest

for national progress and for the well-being of all our citizens.

I share this hope, and on this day Mrs. Talmadge joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Kennedy and her children, to Senator Edward Kennedy, and to all the family.

Hon. Howard H. Baker, Jr.

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. President, I join in these tributes to our late colleague from New York, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, who, during the relatively short time he spent in this body, made his presence felt to an extent that will not be fully known for many years to come.

While I often found myself in opposition to Senator Kennedy in the Senate, I was and am convinced that he was a man of unquestionable integrity and deep conviction who, throughout his life, waged a vigorous battle against indifference and mediocrity in our society.

It has been said that life, though tragic, is still worthwhile. Certainly this is true of the life of Bob Kennedy, a life so often touched by tragedy and yet rich, full, and productive until its untimely end.

It is hoped that history will remember him, not so much for the utter tragedy of his death, but for what he was in life—a genuine human being of high ideals and infinite compassion who did what he could for his fellow man.

Hon. Lee Metcalf

OF MONTANA

Mr. President, the impact of a great tragedy is always a personal and subjective one. So when I was awakened on that dark night to be informed of the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, after the shock and disbelief I thought of the special times that Senator Kennedy and I had been associated. I thought of floor debates, of committee hearings, of our visit together to the New York constitutional convention, of fund-raising dinners, of conversations on the floor of the Senate and in the cloakrooms—all those random reminiscences that go through one's mind on occasions such as that. But mostly I

recalled when, 2 years ago during my campaign for reelection, he came to Montana to help me.

At the time he came to Montana the pollsters, the columnists, the forecasters were all predicting my defeat. But Senator Kennedy's appearances in Great Falls, Butte, and Billings electrified the people of my State, picked up my campaign, and might well have been the decisive factor in my reelection.

Recalling that visit, I like to think that it was a microcosm of the character, the appeal, and the spell of Robert Kennedy.

He saw the Indians in Great Falls and Billings, and his heart went out to these noble people who have been so unjustly treated. Many of us feel the same way about our Indian Americans, but Senator Kennedy's resentment of the injustice they have suffered seemed to generate a chemistry that transmitted itself to them. One could see the changes in the faces of these people when they realized that here was a man who actually cared.

This sophisticated urban individual met Montana farmers and charmed them. Again they recognized that here was a man who instinctively understood their struggle against the weather, and the insects and the hard toil, only to find themselves discriminated against in the marketplace. The children, the welfare mothers, the struggling small businessmen all detected an awareness of their problems and Senator Kennedy's fierce desire to help them solve these problems.

The same magic was apparent when he spoke in Montana, as elsewhere. When Senator Kennedy talked about poverty and the need for its elimination in America; when he talked about injustice and the need for more equality in America; when he talked about education and the American dream of equality of opportunity; when he talked about care of the sick and the aged and the disabled, and society's responsibilities toward all these groups, he was talking with a sincerity and a dedication of purpose that established a special rapport with his audience.

Therein lay his appeal to old and young alike, to the sick and the energetic, to the Indian on the reservation and the black mother in the ghetto. He cared about them, as individuals, he convinced them he wanted to do something about their plight and then he energetically and efficiently went to work to do just that.

Call it compassion; it was that and more. Call it sympathy it was that and more. It was not pity; there was never a trace of condescension. The deprived farmer and the reservation Indian and the ghetto mother were his people and his friends. But he gave them a dedication of purpose, a goal, a hope for which he worked and encouraged others to strive.

So, stricken down at the beginning of his career, a great and humane person, a resourceful politician in all of the good connotations of the term, an able and efficient Senator, but above all an understanding and decent and very human husband and father and brother and man, Senator Robert F. Kennedy is dead. But the ideals he stood for—the elimination of injustice; of love and charity toward all people, hope for a better life for the children of today, a struggle for a world of peace and good will—these ideals did not fall in Los Angeles at the assassin's attack. This martyred man who has left his lasting imprint on a world seeking progress and hope will not have died in vain if in his name we continue to work for the ideals he represented.

Hon. John J. Sparkman OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, I join with Senators in paying tribute to our late friend Robert F. Kennedy.

I first came to know Robert Kennedy when he was a staff member of the Government Operations Committee and particularly of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. I had occasion to observe his work in that capacity and I came to admire his industry, his thoroughness, and his dedication to the job.

In the successful campaign of his distinguished brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, I had occasion to talk with Bobby from time to time as he so skillfully managed his brother's campaign for the Presidency of the United States. When President Kennedy took office, he appointed Bobby to be Attorney General of the United States. I had occasion frequently to take up matters with him. I found him to be always courteous, straightforward, and firm.

Still later, he became a U.S. Senator representing the great State of New York. I think everyone must admit that in that position he showed diligence, intelligence, and perspicacity. He had

strong convictions with a persuasive presentation always as he stated his case.

From time to time he appeared before the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency in behalf of better housing for the families of America. He always showed a deep understanding of the problems not only of the urban people but of the rural people. We all must admire his efforts to build a better America in accordance with the convictions to which he was dedicated.

As a family man, Robert Kennedy attracted the admiration of people all over the United States. Today we salute Ethel, the wonderful woman who was his companion through the years, and the great family of children that are left behind.

To Bobby we all pay tribute. Requiescat in pace.

Hon. George A. Smathers OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, June 6, 1968, was a tragic day for the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, for the U.S. Senate, and for the Nation.

A brave and dedicated young man, only 42 years old, was struck down by an assassin, as was his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy.

The horror of this new tragedy overwhelms us and renders words inadequate. Our minds rebel at accepting the fact that Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been robbed of his life by a gunman.

Robert F. Kennedy, who cared so deeply for his Nation and for his fellowman, is gone, and we who served with him in this Chamber are diminished by his loss.

Our hearts go out to his wife and children, and to his parents, who have borne so much tragedy.

I feel a deep sense of personal loss, for I knew Bobby Kennedy from the time he was a very young man until the hour of his untimely death. I saw him grow, not only as a member of a remarkable family, but as an individual in his own right.

I first met Robert F. Kennedy in 1947, when his older brother, Jack, invited me to visit the family compound at Hyannis Port.

I saw him grow from that young man to a Senator, an individual standing in his own right and contributing much to his Nation.

But I can also recall his unselfish labor in behalf of his brother's campaign, the totality of effort, the affirmation and dedication which he brought to the causes in which he believed.

And that made an indelible impression on me, one which I will carry with me.

Perhaps as a contemporary of John F. Kennedy, I was closer in friendship and spirit to Bobby's older brother, but Bobby Kennedy also had great qualities of his own, and the tragedy which has struck him down on the threshold of what could have been his moment of greatest service is an overpowering one.

The Kennedy family has borne so much loss that one wonders how they can bear so much pain. However, to those who know the family and the individuals within it, it is a family that wants to live—and does live—in the forefront of life's battles.

If there has to be a single outstanding characteristic of this family it is this: active courage.

Bobby Kennedy had this family attribute in full measure. He was ready to make any sacrifice for the causes in which he believed and for his Nation.

A columnist suggested recently that it was impossible for Robert F. Kennedy to ignore a dare.

It was a perceptive observation, for Bobby Kennedy was a person who carried within him that urge to compete, that drive to win, wherever or whatever the fray.

That spirit was not one of recklessness, it was one of courage. He had within him the passion to stand up for his beliefs, to act according to his views.

Robert Kennedy was a special kind of American, a young leader, of great promise. And he will be sorely missed.

Hon. John L. McClellan OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, the assassin's bullet which struck down our colleague, Robert F. Kennedy, reverberated around the world. It brought great shock and sadness to millions and millions of friends and admirers. His violent and untimely death was a tragedy of international consequence and magnitude.

The horrifying spectacle of public officials being shot down in cold blood in America stag-

gers the imagination. That this villainous and treacherous crime was inflicted upon a young man who had suffered through the assassination of his brother, our former colleague and beloved President, Jack Kennedy, just a few brief years ago heightens the import and gravity of this terrible calamity.

The contributions to public service made by the members of the Joseph P. Kennedy family have been truly remarkable. Three sons have served in this body. One went on to the highest office in the land, the Presidency, and Senator Robert Kennedy was seeking that high office—and had just scored a major primary victory in California—when heinous felled at the senseless hands of an assassin.

I had been privileged to know Robert Kennedy since 1954, when he joined the staff of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee as an assistant counsel. At that time, I was the ranking minority member of the subcommittee. The following year, when I assumed the chairmanship of the subcommittee, I appointed him as chief counsel. He likewise served as chief counsel of the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field, of which I was also privileged to be the chairman. The investigations conducted by these committees were extensive, and involved long, arduous hours of detailed study and preparation. As chief counsel, he served with marked distinction and ability, and I cannot pay him too high a tribute for the services he rendered to those committees.

Senator Kennedy was then a young man, but he displayed great courage, drive, and aggressiveness in conducting those investigations. Mature beyond his years, he exercised a sense of judgment and discretion that permitted the committees to allow him a great deal of latitude in preparing and handling the complex and controversial inquiries we undertook.

He resigned in 1959 to put his extraordinary organizational talents and ability to work for the successful election of his brother to the Presidency. Later, in his capacity as Attorney General, I again had occasions to work with him on many matters, and, of course, this relationship continued when he became a Member of the Senate and served with me on the Committee on Government Operations.

The Senate, America, and indeed the world have felt and will continue to feel the loss of

Robert F. Kennedy. His zest for life, his concern for his fellow man, and his dedication to ideals were always present. While some of us may have disagreed with him on occasion, yet his advocacy, his articulation, and his dedication to causes he sincerely believed served to remind all Americans of the diversity and elasticity of our system of government.

Senator Kennedy served America with courage, conviction, honor, and dignity. I shall always cherish and hold dear our friendship. It was a great privilege to have been associated with him in the performance of our respective public trusts and responsibilities.

Mrs. McClellan joins me in extending to his wife, Ethel, and the entire Kennedy family our heartfelt sympathy.

Hon. Gaylord Nelson
OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President, Robert F. Kennedy was, as we all know, an extraordinary young man. In the comparatively short lifetime which he experienced, he had a substantial career as a staff member on a U.S. Senate committee; he was a highly successful campaign manager for his brother's presidential campaign, during which he showed many more experienced politicians that he could teach them a great deal about their specialty; he was an active and aggressive Attorney General, at a time when many difficult and controversial actions and decisions had to be carried out; he was a distinguished and creative U.S. Senator; and he was an electrifying and exciting candidate for President of the United States when he was struck down on the night of his most significant political victory. He also was a devoted husband and father, the head of a truly exceptional family of his own.

As was the case with his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, the tragic circumstances of his sudden death served to make us fully aware of what an exceptional, almost unique young man we had among us.

The aspect of the life of Bobby Kennedy which strikes me as most significant was his remarkable appeal to young people. I think this tells us much about Bobby Kennedy—and also much about the young people of America and the world.

This is a time when many Americans are

deeply concerned about our young people. They are sometimes described as the turned-off, drop-out generation—irresponsible, aimless, spoiled by affluence. They are pictured as living only for the selfish pleasures of the moment, and of having no regard for the future.

Yet they adored Bobby Kennedy. We will never forget those news pictures of young people running alongside his car, throwing out their hands, trying to clutch him or at least touch him.

I suspect that the reason for this remarkable reaction was that Robert Kennedy reached these young people in such a way as to reveal their real nature. While they may have appeared to be aimless and turned off, they were fired up with enthusiasm for the new and better world of the future as portrayed by Senator Kennedy.

Why? With all the effort being made these days to reach and excite the youth of the Nation, why was Robert Kennedy so successful where many others have failed?

Certainly his own comparative youth was an advantage—but young people today have rejected many others younger than he.

I think he reached these young people because he personified something they felt within themselves.

He decried the shortcomings in our society—poverty, ignorance, and war. He expressed high hopes for the future, and lofty goals. And he conveyed the impression of having the grit and the guts and skill and know-how to achieve these goals.

I think that is what caught the imagination of our young people. Here was a man who really wanted desperately to do something for this country and for the world, a man who really had a chance of doing what he hoped to do.

Politicians are traditionally noted for their soothing touch—for their ability to smooth over all differences and satisfy everyone. Robert Kennedy seemed quite different. He was blunt, impatient, abrasive even—but to young America he came across as real, genuine, believable, and believed.

This was a great gift. It will be sorely missed. And in understanding it I think we learn much about Robert Kennedy, and possibly even more about ourselves, and about the young people of this land about whom we profess to be so concerned.

In Robert Kennedy, the Nation has lost one of its great leaders, one of its most eloquent spokesmen for peace, goodness, and integrity in American life.

He addressed himself to the problems of America with that kind of courage and commitment necessary to make the American dream a reality for all our people.

We must all join now as a unified people to pursue the goals he sought, knowing the task will be the more difficult without his helping hand.

Hon. James B. Pearson OF KANSAS

Mr. President, I speak today to honor not merely an able colleague, but also a true friend whose counsel, inspiration, and example are sorely missed. I had the privilege of knowing and working with Robert F. Kennedy for many years. In fact, our association went back to our days in law school, when we were classmates together. Now, as a result of a senseless act, a part of the canvas of his life, perhaps the potentially most important part, is left unfinished. This tragedy deeply affects us all. My own personal sense of loss is great—not really measurable. The country's loss is immense.

While we have gathered today to pay tribute to a man of extraordinary ability and purpose, let us not forget his commitment and his example. In the wake of his brutal death, many voices have been raised in alarm over the fate of this country and the supposedly stained character of our people. Robert F. Kennedy did not share these fears, and it is wrong to use his slaying as a justification for them. Senator Kennedy had a depth of concern for the problems and shortcomings of this country that few men in public life have exhibited. But this concern was never fear. His whole life was guided by a deep faith in the fundamental decency of this American people. Show them the need, he believed, and they will respond with compassion and dispatch.

We must not betray this faith by needless doubts. Each of us has a duty to perform and a contribution to make. Robert F. Kennedy has shown us how much one man can do. When we remember him, let us always remember that.

And let us also remember the words of the poet who said:

I think continually of those who were truly great—
The names of those who in their lives fought for life,
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they travelled a short while towards the
sun,
And left the vivid air signed with their honors.

Hon. Alan Bible

OF NEVADA

Mr. President, the unhappy climate of violence in America has claimed a mounting toll of victims in the past few years. Repeatedly, the lives of innocent, law-abiding citizens have been extinguished by senseless outbreaks of savagery.

If the crisis was dramatized by the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963—an act of unspeakable horror that shocked all men of decency—then surely it arrived at its apex less than 5 years later when the President's younger brother joined him in a martyr's death.

In life, these vital young men were symbols of all that is right within our society. They lighted the lamps of creativity in government and ignited the spirits of millions who saw in them an uncommon measure of excellence.

In death, they remind us of the imperfection of our society—the compelling need to seek permanent solutions to the growing peril of violence in America.

If we would build a suitable and lasting memorial to John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, then let us build it not from blocks of granite, but in the hearts of men. Let us devote our energies to the final realization of that perfect society envisaged by the Founding Fathers. Let us destroy the seeds of racism that produce hatred and intolerance. Let us provide hope and opportunity to those who are mired in poverty.

Above all, let us reaffirm our belief in the supremacy of law by restoring tranquillity to the streets of our cities. We cannot be ruled by the torch and the rifle. We cannot tolerate lawlessness if we are to hold any hope for our future.

Mr. President, today we pay solemn tribute to a distinguished colleague who spent the greater share of his life in service to his Nation in the highest tradition of a great American family.

Robert Francis Kennedy was a great American. He embodied the finest of human virtues. He

had the pioneer's vision, the philosopher's intellect, and the craftsman's eye for perfection. He was a practical man who measured success by the hard standard of achievement, but he was also an idealist. He possessed an unshakable faith in the decency of mankind. He was the kind of man who searched for beauty when confronted with ugliness.

He was a man of great warmth and compassion whose personal magnetism struck a responsive chord in the hearts of millions.

We knew him as lawmaker of consummate ability and dedication. His family knew him as a loving husband and devoted father. The Nation knew him as a dynamic leader.

He freely shared his many gifts with the people of America. Ultimately, he gave everything—his imagination, his vitality, his extraordinary wit, his compassion, his strength, and, finally, his life.

We shall not soon see another like him in the Senate of the United States. We shall not soon see another like him in America.

Hon. Clifford P. Case

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy brought to the American political scene a vitality of concern, expression, and movement that will long be remembered.

Young people in particular were attracted by the genuineness of his empathy with their concerns, and the exuberance with which they responded to his appeal was stirring to behold. There can be no finer memorial for Robert Kennedy, it seems to me, than the continuing involvement of those he inspired in the great tasks of social and economic reconstruction that lie before us.

Hon. Jennings Randolph

OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, the philosopher Seneca said:

It is within the reach of every man to live nobly, but within no man's power to live long.

This is so true. It was a truth understood by our former colleague, Robert Kennedy. He did not live long; but he lived nobly. Gone from

this Chamber and this land is a man with whom we worked. And he is not forgotten.

Robert Kennedy was a wealthy man. Yet he felt and shared intensely—he understood as few public servants do—the wants and frustrations of the poor and needy people of our Nation—citizens who have been turned aside, often neglected, and severely ignored. Robert Kennedy, a man of courage, hit the line hard as he labored in uplifting the lives of these millions. For him, there was no more noble a cause.

Robert Kennedy lived with an intensity and a drive devoid in most men. For this, he was misunderstood. He was impatient. He believed that patience in our time of crisis is a luxury we could not afford. He was a crusader.

As I stated in this body on June 6, there are many people who stressed the impulsiveness of Robert Kennedy, and stressed the element of apparent hurry which characterized his movements in speech and in walk and in approach to life itself. But this impulsiveness—which is not bad in itself—was overshadowed by the probing for answers and the perseverance to achieve results.

The headlines of Senate debate, his visits to Appalachia, to the Mississippi Delta, and the Watts area do not actually convey to me his sense of compassion. No, Mr. President, I knew his true yearnings and his humanity from our sessions on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. He selected this assignment. I am grateful for the experience of having served with him there. He was constantly questioning to determine how we can and must do better.

We remember the anguished cry on that Wednesday, June 5, 1968—"Why, why, why?" We remember those terrible moments, hours, and days to the burial when a valiant American rested in Arlington. It is important now that we remember and carry forward the spirit which moved Robert Kennedy. It is important too that we confront foursquare the unfinished business of our Nation and "dream of things that never were and ask, 'Why not?'"

Let us not build monuments of stone or name plazas of grand design. He would be honored, but he would not wish this type of remembrance. Rather, let us—as he often quoted in the words of Abraham Lincoln—"think anew and act anew" and "disenthral ourselves." He would wish us to so measure our commitment.

Thomas Wolfe said:

To every man his chance—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever his manhood and vision can combine to make him. This, seeker, is the promise of America.

Robert Kennedy was dedicated to the fulfillment of this promise for all Americans. We would do well to rededicate ourselves to the cause he so nobly advanced.

Hon. Russell B. Long OF LOUISIANA

Mr. President, as the world knows, the late Robert F. Kennedy was a man who, in a sense, "overcame" the lure of personal wealth to toil in the service of his country.

As a Senate staff member; as Attorney General and adviser to his brother, the late President Kennedy; as a Senator; and finally as a candidate for the highest position of public trust his people could offer, Robert Kennedy was intensely dedicated to creating a new and brighter day for America.

Like other Senators, I occasionally dissented from his approach, but I never for a moment questioned his devotion. His deeds and ideals were an enrichment of our national spirit, and we can only mourn, as we did for John Kennedy 5 years ago, that the full promise to Robert Kennedy was never allowed to unfold. In our mourning, we should weep more for ourselves, for it is those of us left behind who are the poorer.

Tragic events of this sort inspire the children in a family to seek to fulfill some of the purposes their father had in mind. I would anticipate that we will see members of the next generation of the Kennedy family in this body and in other positions of governmental trust and responsibility. Such events tend to produce people dedicated to carrying forward the ideals and purposes of their lost ones.

So I look forward to the day when the Senate of the United States will welcome to this body a son of Robert F. Kennedy. Many of us will not be here to see it, but it will be an inspiring moment for the Nation.

For those of us here today, the proper course is to remember a statement closely identified with Robert F. Kennedy—"I dream of things that never were and ask, 'Why not?'"—and to summon the daring needed for the great task

before us of building the kind of America that he sought.

Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, I join other Members of the Senate in expressing my sorrow over the death of Robert Kennedy.

The Kennedy brothers brought a new image, a lightness of heart, and a firmness of purpose to American political and social life. From that cold January day 8 years ago until now, their active, dynamic personalities have contributed greatly. Robert Kennedy served his brother loyally and excellently as Attorney General of the United States. He was not only the President's right-hand man, chief adviser, and closest confidant; he was, by all reports, the best Attorney General the Nation has had in years.

He served the people of New York effectively as their Senator for 2½ years, and his tragic death has deprived his constituency of a great voice in the Senate.

He was a devoted father, husband, and brother, an effective politician, and a good man. But he was more than that. To a whole generation of young Americans, he was the personification of hope for the future. His death has filled the hearts of many young people with despair and hopelessness. Those young will recover from his loss; just as our Nation survived the loss of Lincoln and Roosevelt and John Kennedy. But their lives will be marked by the remembrance of that devotion to what he was and what he stood for. Perhaps their contribution to the country will increase by nurturing the memory of what he meant to them. If so, he will have served his Nation more effectively than many men who live to twice his age, or some officeholders who serve many years longer than his brief tenure here.

Robert Kennedy, like his brother the late President, was a controversial figure. Men of unusual gifts and unusual purpose always are. Some officeholders are loved by all, but their contributions are usually slight. Kennedy proposed what appeared to some to be radical departures from the norm, from the acceptable, and from the middle of the road. He, therefore, aroused the wrath of those whose estates would be disturbed. He also aroused the affection and the devoted following

of millions of Americans who voted for him in the presidential primaries, and millions of New Yorkers who sent him to the Senate.

We who remain here to do the work of this Government are more beholden to do our task well and serve our people faithfully because his voice is still. We must not fail to do our duty, as we see it, as effectively as possible, just as he was doing his as he saw it until the moment his life ended.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his wife and children, his family, and his brother Edward, who have borne more sadness in their lives than any other American family I have ever known.

Hon. Vance Hartke

OF INDIANA

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy understood youth. He wrote that youth is not a time in life but instead a state of mind, a temper of the will, and a quality of the imagination.

The death of Senator Kennedy has left the entire Nation feeling very old. We can no longer rely upon this man's personal energy to restore our own will and to rekindle our own imagination; we can make ourselves young again only by remembering his words and by dedicating ourselves to his principles.

But we who would dare to lead in his place have no other choice. Troubled times have always separated the old from the young, and the challenge to seek a newer world can be met only by the strength of our youth. Robert Kennedy understood the challenge and made it his continuing inspiration, and the youth of the world understood and were inspired by him in turn.

Hon. Clinton P. Anderson

OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, Robert Francis Kennedy, as his brother said 2 months ago at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, "loved life completely and lived it intensely." His love of life, his great efforts to better himself and to better the world, make it even more difficult to accept the fact of his murder in June in Los Angeles. At the time of his death, Senator Robert Kennedy had just won a great victory in his pursuit of the Demo-

cratic nomination for President of the United States. It has been said that he knew he was playing Russian roulette as his day began each morning. He had endured the assassination of his brother, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He knew it could happen to him, too, yet something drove him forward and into the crowds that reached out to touch him. He responded to the smiling faces and waving hands, knowing all the time that one of those smiles could be a cynical smile, and that one of those hands might be wielding a gun. He did not withdraw from the people whose political support he sought.

Robert Kennedy died a young man, a man of great promise. He had come to Washington from law school to work for the Department of Justice and later for the Senate Committee on Government Operations, on the staff of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. In his family's tradition, he pursued excellence and was never satisfied with his successes; he pushed himself hard. From 1953 to 1957, he served as assistant counsel, chief counsel to the minority, and then chief majority counsel and staff director. When corruption in some labor unions was exposed by the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in Labor and Management, the young chief counsel for the committee gained national recognition.

He organized his brother's successful Presidential campaign in 1960 and later joined the Kennedy administration as Attorney General. In that position he effectively dealt with many timely and difficult problems in American life. His experience as chief law-enforcement officer of the land brought him face-to-face with problems of civil rights, poverty, oppression, and deprivation that helped form the humanitarian philosophy that was his at death.

After the 1963 assassination of his brother, Robert Kennedy campaigned for, and won, the office of U.S. Senator from the State of New York. He was with us in the Senate less than 4 years, and yet he was one of the best known of Senators. He was ever anxious to set forth his views on the difficult and controversial questions of our time. He was known for detailed and straightforward accounts of his views.

It was so hard to accept his death. We had been through it all before. We had watched him

grieve four and a half years ago. We had admired his strength, his devotion to his dead brother's children, his comfort to the widow. Then the nightmare came again. Another widow; another Kennedy brother, the last one, comforting her. Then was laid to his final rest, our colleague, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

Robert Francis Kennedy believed in this country and its institutions. He so truly believed in its greatness and in the strength of its people that he thought all the tremendous problems that face us today could be overcome. He believed men could be brothers, that peace could be brought to the world, that the lot of the poor could be improved. He believed the change could come through the people, through the constitutional processes of our representative system of popular government. We share that faith of his as we mourn his loss.

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson

OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, our Nation has passed too many days of grief in recent time, which like black ominous clouds have descended over men of good will everywhere in our land. Yet we must try to pick up the pieces and carry on our business, which must go on, although our deep and foreboding sense of loss will not be dissipated.

Mr. President, on that black day in June, we lost one of our own; we lost a colleague of unusual ability and extraordinary perception; a most uncommon Senator and American; a man in whom the elements were truly mixed. Our sense of loss was, and remains, great. The Senate of the United States is not the same without the junior Senator from New York, and our body politic is not the same, and may never be.

We in this body miss his quiet wit, his perceptive mind, and his genuine concern with the problems of America. But ours, of course, is not the only loss. We have lost a friend, a colleague, a fellow legislator, but our loss will never match the unspeakable tragedy which must be borne silently by the Kennedy family.

The great American family which has contributed an unmatched heritage of service to this land of ours, a family that has given our Nation

a President, a wartime hero, an Ambassador, and two U.S. Senators. The grief of that family must certainly be without parallel in American history. It is unspeakably outrageous that two great American men, men who were in the prime of their lives and whose service to the Nation was in midcourse, have been brutally murdered. It is outrageous that the wives were suddenly widowed and that their children have only the memories of a father, and that for them in a very personal sense, life will never again be as rich.

But, Mr. President, may I suggest that the American people, too, have suffered an immeasurable loss. They have lost a great and courageous national leader. Perhaps most important, they have lost the man who embodied our Nation's struggle, with ignorance, intolerance, injustice, and deprivation. They have lost a man who was vitally committed to guaranteeing to all Americans the great ideal on which this Nation was founded. They have lost a man who was concerned with meeting the plight of the poor and the ignorant and the disadvantaged. A man who was alarmed that in a nation of unprecedented prosperity and economic growth, men, women, and children are still hungry, homeless, jobless. They have lost a man who was outraged by the prejudice and injustice which befalls our fellow Americans simply because their skin happens to be black. And they have lost a leader who had a vision of American cities as exciting, cosmopolitan, amenable places in which all could live in decency, prosperity, and justice. In short, Mr. President, our Nation has lost a man who had a vision of a better future and the political and moral courage to fight for a better America.

And let us not forget too that the loss of Senator Kennedy is particularly keenly felt by America's young. Those men and women who will assume the burden of leading our Nation tomorrow. Senator Kennedy did offer a new voice. To many, he was the hope of a better future. Mr. President, although Senator Kennedy is gone, his memory, and his aspirations for America will live on in this Chamber. He was a good man and a great American and we would all do well to seek to pick up the burden for the future which he carried so gracefully. May God let him rest in peace.

Hon. James B. Pearson OF KANSAS

Mr. President, Miss Marguerite Mitchell Marshall, of Pittsburg, Kans., visited my office today and submitted a tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Miss Marshall expresses the feeling of many of the citizens of the State of Kansas, therefore I ask unanimous consent that her tribute be printed in the Record.

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY ON THE OCCASION OF HIS DEATH BY AN ASSASSIN, JUNE 6, 1968

(By Marguerite Mitchell Marshall, Pittsburg, Kans.)

This righteous young man, during his lifetime, maintained Open-minded views of world affairs.

His benevolent and charitable disposition toward humanity, Enthusiastic pursuit of improving our democratic system of government, and

Reliable facts on oppression, depredation, and injustice, attest to—

Truthful way of living;

He was faithful to his country, to God, and to man.

He did bequeath:

Kindness to our fellowman;

Energy to sustain in our way of life;

National unity to build a solid world;

Nobleness of purposes;

Ethical values at all times;

Dignity of actions and deeds; and a

Yearning for a great nation.

Hon. Thomas J. McIntyre OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, Miss DeCourcy, the daughter of a very good friend of mine, Mr. Edward DeCourcy, editor of the Newport, N.H., Argus Champion, has written to me about the reaction of students in Malaysia to the assassination of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and the violence plaguing our Nation today.

Miss DeCourcy is a Peace Corps volunteer teaching science in a school in west Malaysia.

With her fine letter to me, Miss DeCourcy included a tribute to the late Senator Kennedy written by students at the school.

The students asked their teacher to send their tribute to the Congress of the United States.

The reaction of these Malaysian students to what is going on in the United States is movingly

and touchingly described in their tribute to the Senator. Miss DeCourcy's letter explains very well the problem which our Peace Corps volunteers have in explaining the United States to the people of other nations.

I sincerely hope that all our Peace Corps volunteers are as good ambassadors for our country as Jane DeCourcy. I ask unanimous consent that both her fine letter and the Malaysian students' moving tribute to our late colleague be printed in the Record.

IBRAHIM SECONDARY SCHOOL,

Sungei Patani Kedah, Malaysia, July 7, 1968.

Senator THOMAS J. MCINTYRE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCINTYRE: Enclosed is a letter some sixth form students in my school wrote and gave to me to send to Congress. I am a Peace Corps volunteer teaching science in a secondary school here in west Malaysia. I had nothing to do with the writing of this letter, but I promised the students I would send it to you. I think it gives some idea of how the assassinations and violence in America today are impressing people in this country.

Speaking for myself, I find it depressing that we can spend 2 years working hard teaching, farming, making friends, trying to work for peace, if you will, and yet have a letter like this appear, which indicates that the violence at home makes more of an impression on people here than any ideal for which we volunteers are working. People will say, "But you volunteers are specially picked and aren't typical Americans." This isn't true, but the reasoning is understandable.

Therefore, I'll end this letter with a request for votes from you in support of the poverty program and very strong gun control laws.

Sincerely yours,

JANE DECOURCY.

Newport, N.H.

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

LOWLER VI SCIENCE A,

IBRAHIM SECONDARY SCHOOL,

Sungei Patani, Kedah, Malaysia, June 19, 1968.

*The Congress of America,
Washington, U.S.A.*

DEAR SIR: The assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy shocked the world. Many political leaders of other nations expressed regret, sorrow, and sadness in one form or the other. Even the United Nations presented a special tribute to the recently assassinated political leader of the United States. But these did not make things better.

Exactly 5 years ago, his brother, President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated in Texas. This time it was him. The life of a famous and respected leader was taken away by the pulling of the trigger of a .22 automatic. The world mourned for his death and the historical page of the United States was again painted black.

All these assassinations draw to a conclusion—the people who pulled the triggers are ruthless and lawless. The lawlessness in the country has taken away many great

politicians' lives—President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. How much more have the U.S. political leaders to pay for the lawlessness in the country?

After the unnecessary killing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, President L.B.J. requested that the presidential-election candidates be protected by the lawmen. What does it matter now after a dear price—the life of a beloved man, whose strength is absorbed from the American people?

Why must two great brothers end up in the same fate? The Americans loved them and yet took their lives away, one after the other. Should a man so loved by his countrymen die such a cruel death? The Malaysians would surely oppose it but some maniac thought that by pumping bullets into the genius-head of "the man," they could have a better America.

America will suffer after losing another great man of the century, and suffer it will!

Let us pray: "May he rest in peace."

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. SARA KOSHY,
Form Teacher.

Hon. Gaylord Nelson

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President, there is one among us who must take satisfaction in the fact that Senator Robert F. Kennedy heard this eloquent tribute while he still lived.

It was an eloquent tribute by our distinguished colleague from South Dakota. I refer to the introduction by the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern) of Senator Kennedy to audiences at Sioux Falls and Rapid City, S. Dak., on April 16, 1968, when Senator Kennedy made a campaign visit to that State.

No collection of tribute to our deceased colleague would be complete which does not include it. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the introduction of Senator Robert F. Kennedy delivered on the occasions I have mentioned by the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. McGovern).

INTRODUCTION OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY BY SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN, SIOUX FALLS AND RAPID CITY, S. DAK., APR. 16, 1968

For reasons that most of you understand, I have seen fit not to take sides in the current Presidential contest for the Democratic nomination. I feel that my fellow South Dakotans should make their own decision.

All three men now being considered as candidates—Senators Kennedy and McCarthy and Vice President Humphrey—are close and treasured friends of mine. Each

of them would serve our Nation well. Each of them would have my cooperation as President. Each of them knows that situations might develop where I would disagree with him.

And may I add that President Johnson has taken on new stature and dignity by the magnanimous manner in which he placed his view of the Vietnam issue above his desires for reelection.

But I do want to say to my fellow South Dakotans in the presence of our distinguished guest that, if he is elected President of the United States, he will, in my judgment, become one of the three or four greatest Presidents in our national history.

I have heard the talk about his ruthlessness and his long hair. But he isn't as ruthless as was the great Theodore Roosevelt, and his hair isn't half as long as Thomas Jefferson's, and unlike Abraham Lincoln, he has no beard at all.

What he does have is the absolute personal honesty of a Woodrow Wilson, the stirring passion for leadership of Andrew Jackson, and the profound acquaintance with personal tragedy of Lincoln.

Recently, one of our Nation's most eloquent preachers was slain at Memphis. In one of his finest sermons, he took for his text the words of the Great Teacher: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

"We must," said Dr. King, "combine the toughness of the serpent and the softness of the dove, a tough mind and a tender heart."

One of the reasons, I suspect, that some people are puzzled by Senator Kennedy is that he is a tough-minded man with a tender heart.

He is, to borrow Dr. King's fitting description of the good life, "a creative synthesis of opposites."

The Presidency is a sobering office that calls forth the seeds of greatness. Many a man whose talents were undetected or misinterpreted took on new stature in the White House. I think that was true of the late John F. Kennedy, who became a greater man with each passing month he lived in the Presidential office.

You people know the affection and the esteem I held for President Kennedy, but it is my carefully measured conviction that Senator Robert Kennedy, even more than our late beloved President, would now bring to the Presidency a deeper measure of experience and a more profound capacity to lead our troubled land into the light of a new day.

So while I decline to endorse any Presidential candidate prior to the national convention, I do speak from the heart about a gallant friend and colleague whom I now present with pride to you—Senator Robert Kennedy.

Hon. George McGovern OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I regret that it was impossible for me to be in the Senate yesterday when eulogies were being offered to our late beloved colleague, Robert Kennedy, but I am pleased to add a few personal thoughts today to what has already been said so eloquently by other Senators.

At the Democratic convention in 1964, Senator Robert Kennedy recited these words from *Romeo and Juliet* in tribute to his brother, the President:

And, when he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Now Robert Kennedy, too, is dead, and as one reads on in this old Shakespearean play, he comes to the lines:

Then, dreadful trumpet, sound the general doom!
For who is living, if those two are gone?

There is a painful sense in which all of us have lost a part of our lives in the death of Robert Kennedy, and yet, we can also find in his death as in his life a deeper understanding of our own obligations to ourselves and our Nation.

He stood for the proposition that we could make a difference; that we would find our satisfaction not in coddling ourselves but in contributing to others.

Senator Kennedy had become the most passionate and talented political leader of his generation. His capacity for intellectual and moral growth was manifesting itself in dramatic fashion during the closing weeks of his life. He was a better and wiser man with each passing day. I felt that he was on an accelerating course that would have earned him a unique place in the life of our Nation and, indeed, in the life of mankind. He was destined to inspire our own and future generations. Of all my associates in public life, no other gave me such a sense of being in the presence of true compassion, practical idealism, and greatness.

He frequently quoted the words of George Bernard Shaw:

You see things and you say "Why?" but I dream things that never were and say "Why not?"

When we view the sudden termination of this eager young life, so filled with promise and compassion, we can only ask "Why?"

Perhaps the lyricist of "The Impossible Dream" has partially answer this question with his lines:

And the world will be better for this
That one man scorned and covered with scars
Still strove with his last ounce of courage
To reach the unreachable star.

I believe that the world will be better because Robert Kennedy dared to reach for the stars.

He told us about the hungry children of Mississippi, the plight of the American Indian, the difficulties of the American farmer. He told us about the dynamite in the great city ghettos. He warned us of the awful violence brewing in our society—warned us, in a way, of his own approaching death.

I believe that there were two powerful concerns that drove him in his final campaign—the first was a determination to put an end to the tragedy in Vietnam; the second was to lead the redemption of our own troubled land.

All of us have been enriched and ennobled by the breadth of his vision and the grace of his presence.

Perhaps from the meaning of his life and of his too-great sacrifice we can take a new measure of conviction, a new courage, a new resolve that he shall not have died in vain; and that in a calm and implacable determination, we can yet serve the end that he so tenderly sought for us all—"to tame the savageness of man, and make gentle the life of the world."

Hon. Ernest Gruening OF ALASKA

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy had faith in the American people. He sought to bring out the capabilities of his fellow men so that together we might work toward a world in which full stomachs replace malnutrition, education replaces illiteracy, friendship and understanding replace discrimination and hatred. For such a world he devoted his energies. For such a world he gave his life.

Wherever he went, and he traveled far, he vividly illustrated what Aeschylus wrote more than 2,500 years ago:

It is not the oath that makes us believe the man, but the man the oath.

Robert Kennedy made us believe that oath.

He reached the unreachables.

He touched the untouchables.

He strove with endless determination and courage to attack our ghetto problem, and he helped give us hope for a world without flames, violence, and fear.

He showed compassion for mankind. All were his brothers. His unending drive to understand the problems of the discriminated caused increasing numbers to believe the plight of the depressed could be alleviated.

Bob Kennedy did not create a new world for us. He had time only to lead us one step further along the path to its gateway and shine a strong light through that entrance, brief though the ray shone. For that glimmer we all are a little wiser.

We can best honor him by correcting the senseless and ancient inequities which plague all nations. In America, we can work more devotedly to feed and house the hungry and unsheltered, to educate those who would learn, and help those who would not to understand why they cannot prosper without the ability to read. We can fund the programs to construct houses and schools, and to rebuild our ghettos.

Overseas, we can bring economic and technical assistance to those who cannot yet help themselves.

Around the world we can perhaps rebuild our image. And we can start by ending a senseless war in a tiny land in Southeast Asia; a war which threatens to destroy us.

Robert Kennedy believed peace was not too distant. Let us prove him correct.

Dorothy and I extend our deepest sympathy to the entire Kennedy family. Their loss is ours.

Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr. OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, a few days ago the Senate held a memorial service for our departed colleague, Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from New York. On June 16, 1968, one of the late Senator Kennedy's close friends, Judge H. L. Riddle, Jr., of the North Carolina bar, delivered a eulogy upon Senator Robert F. Kennedy, entitled "Young Man With a Purpose," which merits inclusion among memorial speeches recently made by Senators. For this reason, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of this eulogy be printed at this point in the body of the Record. I also ask unanimous consent that comments made upon Judge Riddle's eulogy by my friend, Saul R. Cheslock, entitled "Foreword," be also printed at this point in the body of the Record.

FOREWORD

(By S. R. Cheslock)

"For thus hath the Lord said unto me:
Go, set a watchman;
Let him declare what he seeth!"

—Isaiah 21: 6.

"For it is a day of trouble, and of trampling, and of perplexity."

—Isaiah 22: 5.

Robert F. Kennedy, struck down by a hate-filled, murderous act, brings to mind the role envisioned and assumed by the great prophet of ancient days, who also declared what he saw. Without equating the two men, certain similarities are striking—both were men of high rank and position. Both championed the cause of the lowly and the oppressed. Both saw clearly the path to be taken, and fearlessly took it. Both of them suffered violent, tragic deaths.

When first I read this eulogy by Judge Riddle I sensed that he had produced a thing of value—I became convinced of this feeling when I read the final text. It was then that I encouraged him to have it prepared in its present format.

YOUNG MAN WITH A PURPOSE

We are drawn together here today to offer homage to our late departed friend, Robert F. Kennedy—a man of purpose and of peace. More so than the tragic anomaly that a mind so consumed with hate triggered the bullet that was to forever still such a young and gallant heart. With the impact of his loss still fresh within the depths of my mind, it isn't at all easy for me to convey what 8 years of association with this extraordinary human being has meant to me. It will be due to the weakness of words that only a glimmering of what really cries out to be said, can be spoken.

A fatalistic belief that his life might be a short one may have been one of the factors which compelled Robert Kennedy to drive at such a tremendous pace. Then, too, he felt that in the tragic loss of two elder brothers, both in the service of their country, he could be expected to live up to the Kennedy standard of excellence. He knew that there was so much to be done in such a short time—short for the tasks at hand—even had he lived the Biblical three score and ten. He believed that every available moment must be used in his quest for a better life for his fellow man.

Compassion for the underprivileged and unfortunate combined with courage and boundless energy blended together into an eventful though tragically short life. He packed into his 42 short years a fuller and more useful life than most attain who live much longer.

His intense concentration upon the job at hand was often mistaken by those who did not know him as "coldness." His grim and dogged determination to achieve his idealistic goals was sometimes mistaken for "ruthlessness." If he was cold it was only to indifference and apathy. If he was ruthless it was only in his fight against bigotry and intolerance. Those who knew him best never questioned his integrity nor sincerity of purpose.

Soon after finishing his college education, one of his first important tasks in life was as counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field. The courage, energy, and ingenuity he showed in this amazing exposure of organized crime was but a portent of yet greater things to come.

During the presidential campaign of 1960, Robert Kennedy, more than any other person was responsible for the nomination and subsequent election of his brother, John F. Kennedy, as President of the United States.

He served the administration of both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as Attorney General of the United States, and he served that office with uncommon distinction. He was relentless in his fight against crime and vigilant in his crusade to secure to every citizen his rights under the Constitution.

As a U.S. Senator, he labored hard and long but was often frustrated by the Senate's habits of tradition, undue deliberation, and delay. His temperament was that of an activist and he chafed at the bit to seek the solution to a vital problem delayed by legislative maneuvering and floundering. He craved action and knew that its seat lay in the office of the Presidency. And thus he took his campaign directly to the people in whose vineyards he strived so zealously to serve.

In his dealings with his fellow man he based his judgment not upon color, creed, or race, but upon character, creativity, and reliability. Social or economic status were not the yardsticks by which he measured a man. He judged the man by the good within him.

Civil rights, to him, was not some benevolent gift to be handed out by a kindly court or legislative body, but was the natural and God-given heritage of every citizen, both by moral and constitutional mandate.

He was not a politician in the strict sense of the word. More often than not he told the prospective voter what he did not want to hear. He emphasized the dangers of cigarettes to a South whose tobacco played a vital part in its economy—to a North and East he likened the plight of the Negro in the ghetto to that of his life on the southern plantation. He chided the Midwest and Far West for their discrimination of those of Indian, Mexican, and Oriental extraction. All to him were but part of a pattern that must be changed if America was to survive. He could scold a minority group on the necessity for law and order only because they knew he was sincerely interested in removing the root causes of their lawlessness.

Welfare and the dole were repugnant to him as degrading to the dignity of man. And so he dreamed of a vast partnership of business and government to offer constructive jobs to those hitherto dependent upon alms and Government handouts.

He served his country honorably as a sailor in time of war. And though his love for America was intense, he had a further sense of fellowship with the people of all nations. He visited abroad often, both the near and remote. He wanted always to see the people and listen to their problems. He did so with sympathy. And so he dared "the why not" that someday there might exist a brotherhood of nations under God, with peace and goodwill among men.

Robert Kennedy was keenly aware of the ever reaching tentacles of communism, yet during his latter years, he realized with clarity that it would take more than war to stem its tide. Therefore, he resolved with all the passionate resolution of a Kennedy, to root out the real causes of war and to contribute his utmost to contain its spread. He believed that an America, with all of its peoples sharing in its blessings, would provide the best example to a world skeptical of our aims, both at home and abroad, thus providing democracy's worth over dictatorship. He would replace the destructiveness of the bomb with constructive ideas of the brain. He yearned for a world where the integrity of simple people would be beyond price and the daily toil of millions would be above pomp and power. The killing and maiming, not only of the military, but of innocent civilians, the wasteful and inhumane destruction of homes, fields, villages and cities—the ruinous desolation of war caused him to agonize toward a solution—communication and understanding, without which peace cannot prevail.

More and more he harkened to the cry of the prophets of old—to turn swords into ploughshares and let the people enjoy the fruits of their harvests. To me, this was his loftiest aspiration in his tireless quest “to seek a newer world.”

His rare moments of relaxation were spent with his wife and children, whom he deeply loved. Together they climbed the rugged mountains, roared down the turbulent rivers, and enjoyed nature to the fullest. He loved athletics. Dissipation to him was the waste of a body which he regarded as the earthly repository of the soul eternal.

Perhaps his greatest inner satisfaction was that he had run the good race. He strived to attain the excellence of a Kennedy. We believe he did.

He will be sorely missed around the hearth at Hickory Hill by a valiant widow and a band of brave little ones. Countless other little ones around the world will miss the hope he engendered in them.

May the Lord bless him and keep him,

May the Lord make his face to shine upon him, and be gracious unto him.

May the Lord lift up his countenance upon him,
And give him peace both now and evermore.

Nathan Hale said: “I regret that I have but one life to give for my country.” Having given several of their own for America, to the Kennedy family I would offer this supplication:

O Lord, support them all the day long, until the shadows lengthen and the evening comes, and the busy world is hushed, and the fever of life is over, and their work is done.

Then, in Thy mercy, grant them a safe lodging and a holy rest,
And peace at the last. Amen.

Hon. John Stennis OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, soon after he came to Capitol Hill several years ago, I learned to know our late colleague, Robert Kennedy. From the first I recognized him as a man with a fine mind and rare talents. Later, I saw repeated evidences of his tremendous energy and complete dedication to his work.

I believe as fine a tribute as can be given a person is a frank appraisal of your impressions of him as he performs his duties, especially in public life.

From year to year, then, I viewed the fine contributions that he made to a major Senate committee as a highly valuable staff member. Later, I saw his talent for organization and the splendid overall job he did in managing the primary and presidential campaigns of the late President, John Kennedy.

Our late colleague became Attorney General and served with distinction for almost 4 years. He showed a mature professional and official judgment. I saw every evidence that he was dedicated to this job. Then, and later as a Senator, I learned firsthand that he was a man of tremendous capacity in his knowledge of our Government. I saw him as one who could quickly and readily make firm decisions of the most important nature. He was effective indeed in dealing with the many grave problems that confronted him. Certainly, he was highly attractive to millions of people in political as well as personal matters, and was a leader by force of intellect and willpower. I did not share his opinion in all questions but I recognized him as a very formidable leader and molder of opinion in many fields.

I look upon the manner of the passing of our late colleague and friend as a great personal and political tragedy. It was a personal tragedy for him to lose his own life, and for his family to lose him. It was a political tragedy for a forceful and fearless leader to be lost, when dedication and energy are so badly needed in our political life.

There were few times that he and I voted together except on matters of procedures and there were times when, frankly, I could not understand his position. At the same time, I realized there were times when he perhaps could not understand my position, but we could always deal with each other in confidence. While he was Attorney General and while he was a Senator, we were very often on opposite sides or pitted against each other in public matters. But on or off the Senate floor, he always told me the truth, and nothing but the truth, about every matter that we discussed. This was a cardinal virtue in which I can take pride as well as share with his other friends and with each member of his fine family.

As an American, as a former colleague and friend, I am thankful for the contribution that he made and shall cherish the memory of his virtues.

I mourn his untimely passing and the loss sustained by his family, his country, and the Senate. To his surviving widow and to each of his children as well as his other relatives, Mrs. Stennis and I extend our heartfelt sympathy in their earthly loss and pray that God will sustain them now and in the years ahead.

May God rest the soul of our former colleague, Robert Kennedy.

Hon. Ralph Yarborough OF TEXAS

Mr. President, in connection with the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy I would like to include an excerpt from a hearing of the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, held on June 12, and I ask unanimous consent that this excerpt be made a part of my remarks.

Last week we lost a truly great American—a man whose interests and desires for the betterment of mankind were not confined to any one field or narrow set of issues. Among his many other duties, Senator Robert Kennedy was an active and constructive member of this subcommittee. He was the principal cosponsor with me of S. 2864, the bill on which we are holding hearings today, and his interest in industrial health and safety was representative of the entire man.

The essence of a man is difficult to sum up in words, especially a man as complex as Robert Kennedy. However, if I were to have to choose one single characteristic, it would be his desire, almost overwhelming, to improve the

lives of his fellow citizens. This meant a continuous striving for peace and prosperity. But it also meant less hunger—less slums—less unemployed—and yes, less injured. It meant gun control—and control of false television advertising of hazardous substances—and control of industrial hazards—hazards to health and safety of the working men and women of the United States.

He was impatient, as we all should be, with people who said it can't be done. His answer was always: Why not? And were he here today he would be asking why we can't have a safer, healthier workplace for all our citizens.

Perhaps it was his continuous striving for a better country that caused some people to fear him. They were afraid of him as they fear all men who cannot be put aside with pious platitudes. And they were apprehensive because he represented the virtues which they desire but do not possess.

So they tried to create a climate of public opinion which would discredit and destroy his political effectiveness. They succeeded far beyond their aims. For the climate of public attitude they created, rather than discrediting him, actually nurtured the misguided, the fanatic, and the zealot who in the end destroyed him.

Robert Kennedy will be missed throughout the land, but he will be especially missed by those of us who worked with him and benefited from his counsel and experience and—yes—from his impatience with those who say it cannot be done.

He was the cosponsor of this bill but he sponsored or cosponsored many other bills in the fields of education and labor legislation. He was active on many other subcommittees of this committee to which he gave his great mind, talents, drive, and capabilities.

This committee is saddened by the loss from it of one of the most dedicated Americans, one of the most able Americans of my generation.

I served in World War II on the staffs of a number of generals. I have worked with Governors, Senators, university presidents, and others. I consider Robert Kennedy one of the two or three most brilliant men I have met. We have lost two brilliant members of this family who have given as much, if not more, than any other family in American history.

Senator FANNIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to join in paying tribute to the late Senator Robert Kennedy. Not only did I serve with him on this committee, but on our Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.

It was my privilege to travel with him extensively on hearings, at which time he brought great prominence to the hearings, and was successful in getting recognition of the great problems we have on the Indian reservations.

I pay tribute to him especially for the dedicated work in that regard and for the life of public service.

Senator YARBOROUGH. I thank the Senator for his comments. He was a very active participant with Senator Kennedy in calling attention to the plight of the Indians on the reservations.

Senator MORSE. Mr. Chairman, I understand before I arrived that you and Senator Fannin paid respects to the memory of Senator Kennedy who was a member of this committee. I, too, would like to take just a moment to pay my respects to his service on this committee.

Senator Yarborough, you pointed out that Senator Kennedy was a member of this subcommittee, and I feel we are better Senators because of his service on the committee. He also happened to be a member of two of my subcommittees in the Senate. He was a member of my Subcommittee on Education, on which you serve, and he was a member of my Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, which has jurisdiction over the schools and police of the capital city. On the basis of the rich experiences that I have had in the Senate as a result of my association with Senator Kennedy, I would like to make this brief comment in tribute to him.

If I were to appraise his statesmanship, I would say that we learned from him in no small measure the recognition of the obligation that we Senators owe to our jobs and to the people we represent. He demonstrated over and over again that he was dedicated to the proposition that the primary obligation of a Senator is to follow where the facts lead on each of the issues that come before him. A Senator must test the facts as he finds them against the simple question, "What do these facts seem to show the public interest to be?" And when he has the answer to that question his vote should be automatic. Time and time again, as I observed Senator Kennedy at work, he practiced the principles involved in that obligation.

You and Senator Fannin and I have heard him many times when he was not too satisfied with a witness before us say to that witness, "What are the facts? I know the views; I know the opinion you have expressed, but what are the facts that support your views and opinions? That is what we have to have." He was a brilliant cross-examiner—fair, persevering, determined. He drew out whatever facts the witness might have so that they could be made available to the committee.

On many occasions we talked together about some of our legal experiences and our views on constitutional questions. He was a great humanitarian and a brilliant lawyer. He recognized that the keystone of the Constitution is its general welfare clause and that we both recognized our obligation as Senators to see to it that we implement that most dynamic clause. Senator Kennedy recognized that the purpose of our system of constitutional self-government is to promote the welfare of all the people, not just the welfare of some, at the expense of the many.

Before our very eyes we see being carried out the dynamics of the Constitution as envisioned by our constitutional fathers when they wrote the general welfare clause. And yet we haven't even scratched the surface of the implications of that clause for American history. Senator, would that you and I could come back 100 years from today and observe what effect the general welfare clause has had on America.

I do not care where you touch the record of statesmanship of Bob Kennedy, you are going to find this principle I have just enunciated standing out. He was constantly looking at the issues that confront us from the standpoint of the issues' effect on the people—on all of the people. Whether you examine his record on civil rights, or his record on labor, or his record on social welfare, this was the warp and woof of Senator Kennedy's political philosophy. I only want to say in closing that this committee has made a better record than otherwise would have been made because of his presence on it. We, as Senators, are better Senators because of the rich experiences that we have had in our association with this great Senator who will go down in American Senate history as a great statesman.

Memorial Tributes
IN THE
Senate of the United States
ON THE OCCASION OF
THE ASSASSINATION OF
Robert Francis Kennedy

In the Senate of the United States

JUNE 6, 1968

Hon. Mike Mansfield
OF MONTANA

Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished minority leader and myself, I send to the desk a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 300) was considered and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 300

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. President, the assassination of our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, marked the passing from the living scene of a man of courage, dedication, integrity, and patriotism.

Senator Kennedy was one who recognized the problems of the present and sought to find solutions for them in a manner which would bring the people of this country together, unify us as a nation, and prepare us for the ordeals which lie ahead.

I grieve for my country and for the Kennedys—all of them.

I grieve in a personal sense for this man's passing, and I grieve in a national sense because I wonder what is wrong that there can be a killing not of just a Robert Kennedy but also a President Kennedy, a Medgar Evers, a Martin

Luther King, Jr., a Lt. William G. King, Jr., USMC, of Orlando, Fla., a Lt. Thaddeus Lesnick, U.S. Marine Corps, of Fishtail, Mont., a small ranching town in my State, and a Thomas Williams of the District of Columbia.

We have a lot of questions to ask ourselves; a lot of answers to find, and not too much time to do it. The very best will be expected of all of us to see us through the travail of our domestic and foreign difficulties, and we cannot afford not to measure up.

What does it take to awaken us from our deep sleep? What in the name of God has happened to us?

Are we so blind that we cannot see?

Are we so deaf that we cannot hear?

Are we so dumb that we cannot understand?

Are we so filled with hatred that we cannot love and appreciate one another?

Are we so immersed in ourselves that we cannot live with one another in peace and amity?

Are we so violent that we fail to comprehend the basic tenets and needs of a democracy?

Have we lost our appreciation of the old values while creating nothing new and worthwhile?

Are we too sorry for ourselves; too involved with our materialism; too far away from the spiritual values of our heritage; and too wrapped up in our self-esteem?

How do we learn? How do we mature as a nation? How do we overcome the divisiveness which marks our country in this hour of trouble?

We can learn by recognizing and living up of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; by recognizing that we are a government of laws and not of men; and by punishing those who

flout the Constitution and the laws made thereunder and by protecting those who live by them.

The killing of all of these men from Massachusetts, from New York, from Mississippi, from Georgia, from Florida, from Montana, my own State and my own constituent, and from the District of Columbia was totally callous. Criminals who perpetrate these crimes must and will be called to account or otherwise the law has no meaning, responsibility, no credit, and anarchy will become the norm of our society.

We cannot recall the lives of any of the human beings whom I mentioned. We can, however, learn from what has taken place and attempt to find out the causes, seek the cures, and do what we can to bring an end to the disrespect, irresponsibility, and outright contempt for life and law which is so prevalent today.

Yesterday, I had a conference with the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], at which time I discussed with him our jointly introducing a resolution setting up a select committee to inquire into the pathology of political and social violence which plagues the Nation. We were agreed on the need for such an inquiry, and yesterday evening spent an hour at the White House discussing the matter with the President of the United States. Out of that conference came total agreement between the President and the leadership that a single bipartisan commission was urgently needed, should be appointed, and would represent the best approach in seeking answers to the pressing national problems of political and social violence.

The President has acted swiftly in this hour of national tragedy, having already announced his appointments to the proposed Commission. On the recommendation of the leadership, he has designated from the Senate the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] to serve as members. They have our full confidence and support in the profound task which falls to them.

Mrs. Mansfield, our daughter Anne, and I extend to Ethel Kennedy and the children, to Senator Kennedy and his sisters, and to the parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, our deepest sympathy and condolence in their hour of distress and sorrow. We offer our prayers for our deceased colleague and beloved friend. May his soul rest in peace.

Hon. Everett McKinley Dirksen OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, in time of great national sorrow—and we are in such a time—we can take some solace in the vitality of democratic institutions. Our Nation will remain strong so long as brave, capable men seek our highest offices and hold those offices with distinction.

For this reason, I support without reservation the measure before the Senate at this moment. Its purpose is so simple. We legislate today to take every possible precaution so that our Presidents, past, present, and future, are never taken from us because our Government failed to provide them with maximum protection.

I might say parenthetically, Mr. President, that what we see by way of physical political assassination does not tell the whole story. There was given to us in some confidence the number of threats that have been made on the lives of Presidents now and before, and it is an astonishing number. In fact, it is almost unbelievable in a free country.

Only 5 years ago, we suffered the loss of our President by an assassin's bullet. Today, we mourn the brutal slaying of a man who aspired to that high office.

It was a cruel bit of fate that Robert Francis Kennedy should live through one assassination in his time and obviously not live through the second.

Each day the life of the present President is placed in danger. And we continue to honor and esteem our two former Presidents—Dwight Eisenhower who, as I recall, is 78 years of age, and Harry Truman, who is, as I recall, 84 years of age—and the former First Lady, Mrs. John F. Kennedy, who need and are entitled to protection from this Government. It is so little that this great Republic can do for them.

Ten years ago, during the administration of a Republican President, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives said in the course of a floor debate. "Once a President, always a President."

Mr. President, I subscribe to that. Once a man has served his nation in that most exacting office of all, he is our President for as long as he lives. Dwight Eisenhower and Harry Truman are still "Mr. President" to me.

I want our Presidents to have every protection this Government can provide them. I do not want to risk another national tragedy because we have failed to put all the personnel and resources needed behind the task of protecting them. I want each department to be in constant liaison with the Secret Service. And I want the Director of the Secret Service to be able to call upon our personnel and facilities—and without having to think twice about it—to see that the assistance is available at all times.

We had one incident out in my State where the Secret Service borrowed personnel from another agency of Government and they found themselves on the receiving end of legal action before they got through.

Perhaps we are able to do so at this time. But there should be no question about it—no failing because of proper legislative foundation. So let us make the record clear today by the passage of the measure before us.

The distinguished majority leader and I spent quite a little time last night with not only the President, but also with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of Defense, and the Attorney General. We finally agreed upon those who should serve on this Commission and take a look at this picture and see what can be done. The Commission will have as its chairman a very distinguished academician, Milton Eisenhower. Everybody knows him. He has been the president of several universities, and later the president of Johns Hopkins University, which has a rather international flavor. He has been one of the great servants in the Government.

The other members of the Commission are: Archbishop Terence Cooke, of New York, a very distinguished cleric; former Ambassador Patricia Harris; Eric Hoffer, the philosopher; Judge Leon Higginbotham, of New York, who has a great reputation as a distinguished judge; Senator Hart, of Michigan; Senator Hruska, of Nebraska; Representative Hale Boggs, of Louisiana; Representative William M. McCulloch, of Ohio; and Albert E. Jenner, of Chicago, who served as counsel to the Warren Commission, and who is a very able lawyer, indeed.

Mr. President, I think that this Commission, properly implemented with staff and the necessary funds, can do a great and timely work, and it ought to be done now, because already, if one has examined the morning press, he will note

that there are Soviet authorities who are already referring to us as a sick nation. We are not a sick nation. These minorities do not make us sick, but we better ascertain what the motivation is and then apply the remedy.

John Wilkes Booth had a motive when he killed Abraham Lincoln. He thought it would end the Civil War to remove the leader. A disappointed office seeker assassinated McKinley, and Garfield was assassinated. The assassins thought it proved something. There were motives there. The motive in the death of the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy has never been conclusively established.

The man who has now perpetrated violence in California speaks as an excellent conversationalist; and his diary is in the hands of authorities, and there are some rather fantastic entries, but there has not been indicated what motive was behind this heinous act. We better find out what those motives are, and then, of course, the remedy can be applied.

Never was there any time in the history of this country when there has been so much fever and tumult. When they think that these violent acts and a violent way of life prove something, frankly, they prove exactly nothing.

I hope this Commission can move into action swiftly and implement itself with whatever it needs and give us a quick report. It is a distinguished Commission indeed, and I salute and applaud the President for undertaking this effort.

Hon. Spessard L. Holland OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, the assassination of our late colleague, Senator Robert Kennedy, illustrates most tragically the spirit of hate, lawlessness, and complete disregard for the rights and convictions of others which has captured the minds of too many of our people. As a result, additional laws will be promptly passed and I hope they will be strictly enforced. Today, the House of Representatives will probably pass the Senate omnibus crime bill which a large majority in the Senate feel will assure stronger law enforcement.

I hope we may have a firmer determination to enforce the law on the part of Federal, State, and local officials, including the courts. But it is very clear that there must be also a change within

the hearts and minds of individual citizens supporting and, indeed, demanding stronger law enforcement and at the same time giving more tolerant recognition to the rights of others to hold and express different convictions from our own, so long as those convictions are within the law. A personal dedication of all Americans to the cause of better law enforcement, coupled with more tolerant recognition of the lawful rights of others would be the finest possible memorial to Senator Kennedy.

In the meantime, Mrs. Holland and I join all decent Americans in mourning the death of Senator Kennedy and expressing our deep sympathy for his widow, the children and the other members of the Kennedy family who have had to bear much more than their share of personal grief and tragedy.

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge

OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, the Nation and the Senate mourns the tragic passing of Senator Robert Kennedy, and Mrs. Talmadge joins me in extending deep sympathy to the Kennedy family.

Senator Kennedy, struck down in his prime by an assassin's bullet, was the victim of a kind of insanity that has taken hold of this great land. Sick and vicious minds have been at work. They would abandon civilized conduct and settle differences between men and issues by the sword. I can find no compassion or understanding in my heart for such bestiality. It must be expunged from our society.

It is my prayer that all the people of our country will heed the call for law and order and for the restoration of social sanity that has been issued by the Congress and the President. It is my further hope that all our people of all races and political persuasions will unite in the common purpose of advancing the welfare, well-being, and prosperity of each and every citizen of this country.

Hon. Charles H. Percy

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. President, at a time of tragedy in my own family, no two persons were more sensitive and

understanding that Ethel and Bob Kennedy. Each of them contacted members of the family. They were especially kind and understanding to my daughter Sharon, whom they befriended and helped.

On the anniversary of the passage of 1 year from the death of my daughter Valerie, Bob Kennedy handwrote me a deeply moving letter and handed it to me in this Chamber. It was an uncommonly gracious gesture, but one which typified the man.

I know of no man who felt more deeply the misfortunes of others, especially the plight of the needy in this country and throughout the world, than Robert Kennedy. No man devoted himself more to helping them, despite the personal malignment directed against him because of his efforts to lighten their burdens.

This century has been a bloody one. Many millions have died in combat. Millions of others have died in concentration camps. Nuclear weapons have been developed and employed. In America, some of the best among us have been felled by assassins. Human life has been squandered.

Thus, the record of the 20th century to some seems increasingly atrocious. Despite the spread of education, particularly in the industrial nations, despite great advances in the arts and sciences, despite the diversion of greater resources than ever before to the study of human behavior, the level of violence has risen.

The problem is acute both at home and abroad. The problem is, how do we lower the level of violence and raise the level of understanding and cooperation among men and nations?

The first order of business is to stop the shooting. At home we require and deserve much stricter gun laws and strong but fair law enforcement. Abroad we have a responsibility to find a formula for ending the war in Vietnam.

If we persevere in taking every step we can toward peace abroad, peace can be won abroad. Here at home, let us rededicate ourselves to rooting out the bias that exists in our hearts and strike it down with logic. Let us teach our children that brotherhood and justice must be practiced every day of our lives. Let love guide us in our relationships with each other and with all men.

If we live our lives this way, and if we adopt such policies as a Nation, peace, order, and truth will be advanced in the world, and brotherhood

and justice may yet be achieved. We cannot shrink from such efforts. Nor can we give up on ourselves or neglect our responsibility to do what must be done. No man had a keener awareness of this responsibility than Robert Kennedy. Individually and collectively, let us resolve to make ourselves, our Nation, and the world more rational, more tolerant, more compassionate, and more acceptable in the eyes of God and all just men.

Mr. President, there is much that remains to be done by both bodies of this legislature. But America cannot just say to Congress, "What are you going to do about these problems and challenges?" For each American must dedicate himself to doing something about them.

Respect for order and a sense of decency must begin within the family. It must begin with the community, the municipality, and the State before the Federal Government can act in a significant way.

Every American can say to himself, "I will find someone in this country less fortunate than I. I am not going to leave their fate to others. I myself am going to do something to help someone else, so that justice and dignity will belong to all men, so that the American dream can be a dream not just for some Americans but for all Americans, and so that this American dream can, once again—in our time—be a symbol of light and hope for all the people of the world."

Robert Kennedy deeply believed in the American dream, and by his death, America has lost more than she can afford to lose. Today, our hearts go out to all the Kennedys, whose own personal losses have been exceeded only by what they have given the Nation.

Hon. John O. Pastore OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, in this land of shock and sorrow it is fitting that here in the Senate we should pause in tribute to our fallen colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. For here was centered the words and work of a great American who now belongs to the ages.

To our prayers we shall add praise for the goals of human good that his brave young man sought—and our promise that his cause has not died with him.

It was in the nature of Robert Kennedy to have causes—to be concerned. He held the power of place, but was at home with the humble. He was a man of wealth, but his concern was for the poor.

He was a lawyer who had held the high office of Attorney General of the United States—and his clients were the penniless and the friendless.

He was a fond father whose children shared the podium with him in his hours of high decision—and underprivileged children shared his heart in every waking moment.

He was a son of a dedicated family which has served America well and suffered so much. He was a devoted brother—one of three who have brought great honor to this Senate.

Robert F. Kennedy was a Senator from the State of New York but his real constituency was the entire world of the underprivileged.

His years were given to demanding tasks, but he remained young, and now God has chosen that he shall be a youth for all eternity.

He had an appeal to youth, and as we watched their response, and clear good nature, and evident affection for the America of Senator Kennedy's dreams and determination, we felt a sense of relief from the violence that has been too often in the streets of our cities.

Surely, we felt a sense of mature values that must make our America secure.

Senator Kennedy had an appeal to youth who served him on his staff with a dedicated zeal, far beyond the call of duty. He and his workers were our Senate neighbors. Across the hall and through their open door, we enjoyed their youth and enthusiasm, just as we sense and share their overpowering sadness in this lonely hour.

For the act of a madman in distant Los Angeles will leave its scars on many, many young lives whose days seem to change from destiny to despair.

Senator Kennedy worked for the sanctity of the home—and he died by the hand of a son of a broken home.

Senator Kennedy spoke against violence. "What has violence ever gained?" he asked—and he died by violence.

In the hour of the tragic death of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Senator Kennedy delivered at Cleveland what might be his own eulogy when he said:

No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by the assassin's bullet.

Beyond any words we may utter in the Senate today—that must be our work for all days.

Even as we speak a plane is making its sad journey across the peaceful skies of the America Robert Kennedy loved—for which he labored—for which he died.

The mortal remains of Robert Kennedy make their way from sea to shining sea—to the requiem in the cathedral of his faith—then to journey to this city—by these very buildings—to come to rest by his brother's side—in Arlington—the immortal altar of Americanism.

To his beloved wife and children—to all the stricken family—too often steeped in tragedy—we offer our humble human consolation that they shall be remembered in our prayers—and we offer the solemn promise that their loved ones shall not be forgotten in our purposes.

Hon. William B. Spong, Jr.

OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, we grieve today with the loss of our colleague Robert Kennedy and for a family that has experienced so much tragedy and for a Nation once again enduring the shock and self-analysis that come with the assassin's bullet.

Perhaps laws can be strengthened—and perhaps facts can be brought to public attention by commission inquiry. Nevertheless, it seems more compelling to me that all Americans examine their hearts and their minds. Never in our history, even during the tragedy of civil war, has there been evidence of so many angry people and so much divisiveness as has been manifest in America during the past few years. Never before have Americans appeared more intolerant of the views of others.

This tragic death, regardless of the motive of the assassin, has implications that strike at the very roots of our Nation. For what meaning have freedom of speech and all of the other inalienable rights guaranteed by our Constitution if violence, lawlessness, and hatred continue as prominent features of our society?

Hon. James B. Pearson

OF KANSAS

Mr. President, Senator Kennedy was not only a Senate colleague but a personal friend. Years ago, we had attended law school together.

Now, as a result of this tragedy, a part of the canvass of his life is left white, never to be painted in. In his struggle to play what he thought to be his part in the American political scene, he was not so much pushed by the plans of the past as pulled by the hopes of the future.

I find my own sense of loss to be great—not really measurable at all.

And the cost and loss to our national spirit is likewise not subject to measurement, but we must know that our democratic processes are somehow diminished.

Hon. Thomas J. McIntyre

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, if America is blessed, she is blessed not only with the quality of her institutions, but with the quality of the men who guide her destiny.

Such a man was Robert Kennedy.

Like his brother before him, he stood tall and gave his whole spirit and being to his fellow countrymen.

And now he has given his life.

Life asked much of Robert Kennedy. It gave him a wonderful family, a keen and inquisitive mind, and an important role to play in his Nation's affairs. But it also took much. It took his brother, John; it must have sapped his energy many times when he was attacked and criticized; and, now, it has demanded the supreme sacrifice.

For Robert Kennedy, the fight is now over. But the battle goes on. And, if there is a single consolation in his tragic death, it is this: that the world was touched by this man while he lived.

His concern and dedication for his fellow man leaves this cold and cruel world just a little warmer. And his memory, during the dark days ahead, will provide a beacon to light the path before us.

His life, as Shakespeare wrote:

Was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Hon. Robert C. Byrd OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, we are all saddened by the news of the death of Senator Kennedy of New York. The shameful and senseless murder of Robert F. Kennedy is a blow to our Nation and to our democratic processes. The Senate of the United States has lost an effective and strong and dynamic Member.

Mrs. Byrd and I want to extend our sympathy to his family, his wife and his children, his brother Ted, his aged father and mother, and to all to whom he was close and dear.

The Kennedy family, which has given three sons to the service of the Nation, has been called upon to suffer and to endure more than any family should.

I join my colleagues and people everywhere in denouncing the madness of the act which took his life and expressing my own personal sorrow at the needless thing that has happened.

I am sobered by the thought that our republican form of government cannot continue to function if candidates for public office or holders of public office cannot safely go among the people to discuss issues and to comment upon the affairs of state.

If we have come to the point in our overpermissive society at which twisted minds are to be allowed to equate violence and killing with dissent and go unpunished for their acts, then our Nation cannot endure. Yet, that is the impression that is being created so often in so many places as the perpetrators of violence and murder have escaped the consequences of their crimes.

The Nation is aroused today by the emotional horror of Senator Kennedy's violent death, but this will subside, and assassination and murder and violence will strike us again, unless some fundamental changes are made in the philosophy of our courts and in the moral apathy of our people and in the hearts of our people.

I call for a return to a basic principle upon which any civilized country must, in the final analysis, rest—the rule of law. Homes can in-

culcate in our children a regard for the sanctity of human life. Churches can teach that they must not kill. Schools can teach that a civilized nation must be based on law and order. But it remains for the Government to bring these principles alive, to enforce the laws, and maintain and preserve order.

The vicious and despicable slaying of President Kennedy is part of a degrading drama of disrespect for social order that America has allowed to unfold before the world. This drama will not be brought to an end—the simple fact is that we may expect more and more persons to give way to the dark impulses in their minds—unless society reasserts its rightful authority to protect not just the rights of criminals and those who are anti-social, but the rights of all.

The Senate and the Nation mourn today for Senator Kennedy. Let us go forward from this moment with new determination that the desecration of American life that we have permitted to spread so widely among us will be rooted from our midst.

Hon. Ralph W. Yarborough OF TEXAS

Mr. President, Senator Robert Kennedy was a voice of conscience in the Senate, and from that forum he worked to stir the conscience of the Nation in domestic and foreign affairs, where the Nation's conscience needed stirring most. He sought to arouse the Nation, for the poor at home, and for peace in all the world. Now he is gone; the Nation should heed his counsel.

I have worked closely with Robert Kennedy in the Senate where we served together on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. He was the epitome of honor and courage. He was kind and courageous, brave, and vigilant, and unswerving in his crusade against corruption and injustice.

It has been one of my greatest privileges in the Senate to serve on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with all three of the Kennedy brothers, John Fitzgerald, Robert, and Edward, and to work closely with all of them on that committee, not as mere Senate colleagues, but as friends.

No other family in America has given more generously to the Nation in this generation

than the Kennedys. Three of their four sons have given their lives in their country's service. No other family in America was more patriotic or brilliant. Assassins have cut down two of America's most gifted sons of this generation, early in their brilliant careers.

In mourning for Robert Kennedy and his family, America must mourn for herself, for the crimes that have cut away from our Nation two of our greatest. Mrs. Yarborough and I, with overflowing hearts, are filled to the brim with sympathy for the family which has placed its son, brother, husband, and father upon its country's altar. May a merciful God safeguard the Kennedys where the Nation failed to safeguard them.

Hon. Clifford P. Hansen
OF WYOMING

Mr. President, violence, reflecting the intolerance and prejudice all too common among us, has struck down another member of one of America's greatest families.

The tragedy visited another time on one family is exceeded only by the great loss our Nation suffers in his death.

Many of us may not agree with the specific solutions Senator Kennedy proposed for healing America's festering sores. But none of us can exceed the commitment to that task made by Senator Kennedy.

To those millions of men who represent America's important minorities, he stood as a symbol of interracial concern. To those with little but hope left, he stood as a strong anchor of faith. To the poor and uneducated, he stood as a continuing inspiration, assuring them of better days ahead.

It matters little that some of us would propose different solutions to improve our society and the lives of our citizens.

What does matter is that violence has struck down a dedicated exponent of his own convictions.

What does matter is that we have not yet matured in America so as to see the wisdom in hearing all who love this country and recognizing the possibility of others being right.

Let us all dedicate our lives to the proposition that we can disagree without resorting to

violence; that we can perfect our society by acting in an orderly, lawful way.

The promise that is America and the fulfillment of the American dream can be achieved in no other fashion.

Hon. Quentin N. Burdick
OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, I am certain that I speak for all the citizens of North Dakota when I say the shocking death of Senator Robert Kennedy has caused anguish and deep sorrow in all of us.

That this young man should be struck down while attempting to become President of these United States is completely unbelievable. It is also unbelievable that enough intolerance exists in some men to commit such an outrageous act. This cruel deed by a hate-filled and twisted mind has stilled the voice of one of our great public leaders.

This act proves there is too much hate and intolerance in this country; and we must do something about it soon or it will consume us. We cannot chastise the 200 million citizens of this country for the act of one vicious killer. But, we can improve the climate that will permit us to live in harmony.

Our sorrow today is for the Kennedy family, which has already felt so much deep tragedy, including the loss of two other sons in service to this Nation.

My sorrow also is for this country, for all Americans know that we have lost a capable, energetic, righteous man. And I have lost a beloved colleague and friend.

Hon. Jennings Randolph
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I believe the service of the Kennedy brothers in the U.S. Senate has been unique. No other American family has given to this body three Senators. John Kennedy served on our Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; Edward Kennedy serves on the same committee; and the late Robert Kennedy also served on that committee. I shall ever be grateful that I could serve on it with the three of them.

I think the service of the three Kennedy brothers on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has been genuinely indicative of the compassion of these good and great gentlemen—the tragic passing of one of whom we formally mourn in this Chamber during these poignant minutes of remembrance.

The Kennedys have been very close to the people of West Virginia. That was true also of the Roosevelts, President Franklin Roosevelt and later his sons. I often think how remarkable it is that such families, and strong personalities within those families, from positions of power and affluence, would and did come into our hills and were able to understand the yearnings of our people. Senator Robert Kennedy and his brothers never wavered in their support of legislation and advocacy of programs which were designed to help the State of West Virginia and the fine people who live there.

So I return to my earlier thought, that the Kennedy brothers were not assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare each, by personal preference, asked to be a member of that committee. Of course, there are reasons why men serve on committees. The high purposes that are to be attained by the work on the subcommittees in particular fields have their special appeals. That is understandable. But on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Robert Kennedy was a member of our Subcommittees on Labor, on Employment, and Manpower, and Poverty, and on Education.

You know, we are inclined often to speak thoughtlessly. I remember a dear friend of mine who told me, "Never speak evil of a person. Write it. Write it on the sands near the water's edge."

There are many people who, perhaps thoughtlessly, stressed the impulsiveness of Robert Kennedy, stressed perhaps the elements of apparent hurry which characterized his movements in speech and in walk and in approach to life itself. But the impulsiveness—which is not bad in itself—was overshadowed by the compassion and by the perseverance of the man.

I recall a witness whom some members of the Labor Subcommittee—perhaps I was included in the list—felt was taking too much of our time in spreading on the record the opinions he held on pending legislation.

There was an air of, "Let us get this over." Then, very quietly, Senator Robert Kennedy—let some of us who were on the subcommittee remember now—leaned into the microphone and looked down and said, "This is a fellow citizen of ours, and he has a story to tell. I want to hear it."

And this was enough to cause us to realize that we did need to hear and we did need to be patient.

I think few people realize how patient Robert Kennedy really was and, perhaps even more important, how thoughtful he was.

I remember in 1965 when we had legislation pending in the Senate to create our Appalachian Regional Development Commission for those States that thrust themselves across the crest of the Appalachian Mountains.

During the debate, Senator Robert Kennedy came to me, as the manager of the bill, and said: "There are certain counties in New York State that are identified with this region. Their characteristics are the characteristics of counties in States like Pennsylvania and Kentucky and West Virginia and others. I hope they can be included."

There was a difference of opinion in the Senate, understandably, about the possible acceptance of such an amendment. And there were good reasons for the positions taken on one side or the other. However, we accepted his viewpoint and we incorporated those counties into the measure, and the legislation came into being with New York counties added to the area.

That is not the reason I tell the story. That night I had delivered to me in my office a personally written note—the type of personally written note that Senator Percy has referred to—from Robert Kennedy, thanking me for what I had done.

I went one afternoon, a few months ago, to the National Airport, when the plane—the *Caroline*—used by John Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency in 1960, now stilled in flight, was to be turned over to the National Air and Space Museum in the Smithsonian Institution. That evening, there came another personally written note thanking me for having been present for the ceremonies.

These little notes are part of my files and I mention them here today not because I wish to

unduly attach myself personally to an associate in a time of tragedy or of remembrance of that person. But I feel that we come to know and respect a man because of the contacts that we have had with that person.

Mr. President, I conclude by moving to another thought which is even more vital.

We were considering legislation in the Senate not so very many days ago to attempt to bring about a stoppage of the traffic in guns by mail order—long guns, shotguns, handguns—guns that gun down people in the streets, guns that bring tragic death.

Senator Robert Kennedy said that legislation of this type was necessary, and I would like to ask my colleagues to listen, not to me, but to those words of his I now repeat:

Such legislation—

He emphasized—

would save hundreds of lives in this country and spare thousands of families all across this land the grief and heartbreak that may come from the loss of a husband, a son, a brother, or a friend. It is time—

Said Senator Robert Kennedy—

that we wipe the stain of violence from our land.

Now he is victim of the violence he abhorred—and which he wanted so much to be banished from this earth.

Yes, my colleagues, he spoke correctly. We mourn the loss of a husband, the loss of a father, the loss of a son, the loss of a brother, the loss of a friend.

Robert Kennedy was all of these.

Hon. Wayne Morse OF OREGON

Mr. President, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy is a terrible, terrible tragedy. Many basic political values in our country are also being assassinated by extremists who are taking the law into their own hands and violating many constitutional guarantees and basic human rights.

The most meaningful monument we could build to the memory of Senator Kennedy and to his statesmanship would be for Congress to lead the Nation back to the enforcement and practice of government by law, both domestic and international.

Senator Kennedy was a man of great courage; he dared to stand up for the right as he saw the right.

I know of no literary quotation that better describes his intellectual courage than the famous quotation from the speech of Carl Schurz delivered on October 17, 1899, under the heading "Anti-Imperialistic Congress."

He said:

Our country, right or wrong. When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right.

Mr. President, Senator Kennedy, in his recent speeches across the country delivered in his campaign for the presidential nomination of his party, spoke many times about the need for national unity. He expressed some of his views as to the reasons for the lack of national unity. He spoke out against violence in our country, and he spoke out against violence in the world.

Mr. President, in my eulogy today to Senator Robert Kennedy, I pay tribute to his leadership in the field of foreign policy. He recognized the great disunity in our country caused by the war in Asia. He certainly manifested his view over and over again that we must change our course in that war in order to have unity at home. Mr. President there can be no denial of the fact that millions and millions of Americans do not support that war. They know we should not be killing American boys in that war. There is no question in my mind of the cause-to-effect relationship between our participation in the Vietnam war and some of the violence here at home.

Therefore, Mr. President, I state that we can best pay tribute to the statesmanship of this great man if we, in the Congress, join forces in bringing about a discontinuance of that war. The Congress and the administration must bring our foreign policy in Asia back within the framework of international law. I think it most appropriate that we give renewed consideration in our Government to the resolution that the Senate passed by a vote of 82 to 0, calling upon the President to submit the settlement of the Vietnam war to the jurisdiction of the Security Council of the United Nations. Senator Kennedy voted for it and supported it. I believe Senator Kennedy's foreign policy statesmanship will go down in history, and there will be emblazoned on his record the position he took in opposition to many of our war policies in Asia. His is a record of

opposition to the resort to the jungle law of military might for the settlement of disputes among nations.

He stood out courageously for the substitution of the rules and peacekeeping procedures of international law for the rule of the military law. He sought to correct a wrong war policy of our Government.

Mrs. Morse joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy and prayers for God's comfort to Senator Kennedy's wife, Ethel, and their wonderful children, Senator Kennedy's mother and father, Senator Edward Kennedy, and all the other members of the Kennedy family.

Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, I join my colleagues in mourning the death of Robert Kennedy.

I first knew John Kennedy in 1949. I got to know Robert Kennedy in 1956, with our advocacy of John Kennedy for the Vice Presidency. Between 1956 and 1960, it became obvious to me that no man was closer or could be closer to John Kennedy than Robert Kennedy.

I recall vividly the memory of the 4 years from 1956 through 1960 leading to the nomination and election of John Kennedy.

In November 1960, after the election, I was the first man whom John Kennedy asked to visit with him in Palm Beach. We discussed his coming administration, and he said to me:

Abe, you were the first man who thought I could be the President of the United States. Would you like to be Attorney General in my Cabinet?

I said:

Mr. President, I know there has been a lot in the newspapers about this, but if I have my choice, I would prefer to be Secretary of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

He replied:

Who do you think should be considered for Attorney General?

I said:

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy is the man you should appoint.

He then asked me:

Do you think this Nation would take my brother for Attorney General?

I replied:

Mr. President, you are brothers. I have observed both of you intimately during the past 4 years, and it is very apparent to me that emotionally, viscerally, and intellectually you react alike. I have watched both of you in times of crisis; and every time a crisis has entered into your life, you automatically turned to Bobby. You will be faced with many crises as President of the United States, and the man that you are going to turn to automatically is Robert Kennedy. The worst thing that could happen for both of you and the Nation is to have Bobby always coming in through the back door. It becomes important that, if he is to be your adviser, he must come in through the front door; and if this is to be the case, I believe that he should be your Attorney General.

President Kennedy again expressed skepticism about the advisability of this, but later told me that he had made the decision to appoint Robert Kennedy as Attorney General.

As soon as the administration of John Kennedy was formed and got moving, Robert Kennedy was always the closest to John Kennedy. In any crisis that developed or in any basic policy, either domestic or foreign, Robert Kennedy was involved.

Now, it was not Robert Kennedy interfering with other members of the Cabinet or the administration. He was always most circumspect to make sure that he respected the position and the jurisdiction of every member of the Kennedy administration. However, when it came to basic policy, Robert Kennedy was involved—thoughtful, considerate, and wise.

Then came the tragic death of President Kennedy, and for a period Robert Kennedy was a man searching to rediscover his own soul. He was bereft, beside himself, and did not quite know where he fitted into our society.

I talked with Robert Kennedy when he was considering running for the U.S. Senate. I was in the U.S. Senate.

He did not believe that the Senate would be a place for him. He thought the movement of the Senate, the pace of the Senate, might be too slow for a man of such vigor and activity. I replied that I thought, personally, from my experience in all phases of Government, that the U.S. Senate was without question the greatest place in Government and the body that could give a man great opportunity for service.

He ran for the U.S. Senate, and he became a Senator from the State of New York. He entered into his duties with dedication and understanding. He served on my Subcommittee on Execu-

tive Reorganization, and we undertook a number of actions, first in the field of traffic safety, then in the crisis of the cities. He discussed with me the problems of rising health costs, a subject upon which we embarked this year.

One found in Robert Kennedy a man of deep commitment and deep passion for the great problems and issues facing this country. Contrary to what most people believe about Robert Kennedy, he was a shy, reserved man. It was very difficult to know and understand Robert Kennedy. He was not an outgoing man. While the pictures and television viewing of his campaigning would give the attitude of a vigorous man, always outgoing, Robert Kennedy was not an outgoing man. Basically, he was more on the introvert than the extrovert side.

I have watched with dismay the self-flagellation that this country has undertaken during the past 48 hours. We are not a sick society, Mr. President. Keep in mind that the society that housed the assassin also housed the victim, and 200 million Americans cannot be blamed for the gun and the triggering of the shot that killed Robert Kennedy.

Robert Kennedy understood that this society has many problems and that this society must correct these problems. He devoted his life, his energies, and his efforts to make sure that we have justice, equality, and to correct the injustices we have.

Robert Kennedy had a particular appeal to and love for young people because he recognized that the future of our Nation is in the young people of America. Robert Kennedy also understood and had faith that this is a wholesome generation, irrespective of the minority that caused all the turmoil and trouble.

Mr. President, so that Robert Kennedy should not have died in vain, this is an opportunity for all of society, and not only the legislative branch, but also every individual to make a dedication to the principles in which Robert Kennedy believed.

My feeling is that the death of Robert Kennedy might lead to a basic catharsis in the entire structure of our society. Candidates for the presidency, both Democratic and Republican, will address themselves to the basic problems and issues which Robert Kennedy pointed out needed doing in this country. I believe that both presidential candidates will commit their respective

parties to constructive actions at home and abroad.

I believe that every candidate for the Senate and for the House of Representatives in 1968 owes a duty to the people of this Nation to give them leadership. Every candidate for the Senate and for the House of Representatives owes a duty to come forth with a constructive program and basic philosophy, and not merely to be negative and carping.

This is a great Nation. The promise of this Nation is still ahead of it and not in the past. The greatest achievement we can make as Senators is not merely to stand on the floor of the Senate and talk about one of our colleagues who has died. If he is not to have died in vain, we should have the resolution to carry forward those beliefs and ideals of what he believed America could be. This is a great country, not a sick country. Let us get down to the business of the country. Let us not talk about the weaknesses of the few but recognize the strength of the many.

Hon. George A. Smathers
OF FLORIDA

Mr. President, this is a tragic day for the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, for the U.S. Senate, and for the Nation.

A brave and dedicated young man, only 42 years old, has been struck down by an assassin, as was his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy.

The horror of this new tragedy overwhelms us and renders words inadequate. Our minds rebel at accepting the fact that Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been robbed of his life by a gunman.

Robert F. Kennedy, who cared so deeply for his Nation and for his fellowman, is gone, and we who served with him in this Chamber are diminished by his loss.

Our hearts go out to his wife and children, and to his parents, who have borne so much tragedy.

I feel a deep sense of personal loss, for I have known Bobby Kennedy from the time he was a very young man until this hour of his untimely death. I have seen him grow, not only as a member of a remarkable family, but as an individual in his own right.

I first met Robert F. Kennedy in 1947 when his older brother, Jack, invited me to visit the family compound at Hyannis Port.

I have seen him grow from that young man to a Senator, an individual standing in his own right and contributing much to his Nation.

But I can also recall his unselfish labor in behalf of his brother's campaign, the totality of effort, the affirmation and dedication which he brought to the causes in which he believed.

And that made an indelible impression on me, one which I will forever carry with me.

Perhaps as a contemporary of John F. Kennedy, I was closer in friendship and spirit to Bobby's older brother, but Bobby Kennedy also had great qualities of his own and the tragedy which has struck him down on the threshold of what could have been his moment of greatest service is an overpowering one.

The Kennedy family has borne so much loss, that one wonders how they can bear so much pain. However, to those who know the family and the individuals within it, it is a family that wants to live—and does live—in the forefront of life's battles.

If there has to be a single outstanding characteristic of this family it is their active peerless courage.

Bobby Kennedy had this family attribute in full measure. He was ready to make any sacrifice for the causes in which he believed and for his Nation.

A columnist suggested recently that it was impossible for Robert F. Kennedy to ignore a dare.

It was a perceptive observation, for Bobby Kennedy was a person who carried within him that urge to compete, that drive to win, wherever or whatever the fray.

That spirit was not one of recklessness, it was one of courage. He had within him the passion to stand up for his beliefs, to act according to his views.

Robert Kennedy was a special kind of American, a young leader, of great promise. And he will be sorely missed.

Hon. Thomas J. Dodd
OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, this is a day of sadness for the Senate and for the country.

We have all suffered a grievous loss in the assassination of the late Senator from New York, Robert F. Kennedy.

His youthfulness somehow made the Senate a more youthful and vital body.

His intelligence and wit made the Senate a livelier place.

His passionate championship of the underprivileged and the oppressed enlarged our humanity by helping to focus our attention on the inequities that still exist in our society.

His crusading zeal inspired the enthusiasm of millions of young people throughout the country.

And now this life has been cut short, this light has been extinguished. And the entire Nation mourns.

Our hearts are filled with compassion for the Senator's family, especially for his parents and for his wife and 10 children he leaves behind. And our sympathy is compounded by the knowledge of the almost incredible series of tragedies that have been visited on this distinguished family.

Of the four Kennedy sons, three have now given their lives in the service of their country. Joseph Kennedy, Jr., killed in World War II. President John F. Kennedy less than 5 years ago was cut down by an assassin's bullet. And now another assassin has taken the life of our friend and colleague, Robert F. Kennedy.

Words, therefore, become completely inadequate to express the sympathy we all feel for the Kennedy family in this new bereavement, superimposed on the terrible bereavements of the past. All one can say is that our hearts go out to them.

There is one commentary I would like to add in closing.

Pious condolences over the assassination of an American President or an African-American leader or over the assassination of Senator Kennedy, will no longer suffice. If our country is not to be regarded by the rest of the world as a nation of murderers and assassins, we must take the most energetic action to put an end to the conditions that today make America a land of murder and violence.

Hon. Frank Church
OF IDAHO

Mr. President, I am too stunned and saddened to speak at length this morning. The murder of

Senator Robert F. Kennedy falls like a heavy cross upon our land. My sympathy, deeply felt, goes out to his loved ones, to his stricken wife Ethel, his many children, his parents, his brother Ted, to his sisters, to Mrs. John F. Kennedy, and to all members of his gallant family.

I grieve also for my country, and pray for some future day when the gravest dangers will no longer beset those men in our public life who stand most firmly against hate, want, and fear in America.

May the life of Robert F. Kennedy strengthen the resolve of each of us to serve our country as he did, with courage, candor, and commitment. And may God deliver us the day when men of peace who search for justice can walk safely in our midst.

Hon. Claiborne Pell

OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy is an awful, senseless tragedy—and one more reflection of the spots of violence and sickness that blot our Nation. It is just as much a tragedy for our country, to which Senator Kennedy had so much to give and to which he had already given so much, as it is to his family. The best memorial we can give him is a resolve to take the steps on so many fronts, at home and abroad, that can cure our condition.

My wife and I are deeply grieved and extend all our love and sympathy to his wife and brother and family.

Hon. Howard W. Cannon

OF NEVADA

Mr. President, I join my colleagues and fellow Americans in the expression of grief and shock at the tragic act which has claimed the life of one of our Nation's great public figures, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

Every citizen must deplore and guard against this ugly kind of violence which has entered our political life. Our shock and disbelief must now cause us to resolve, once and for all, to rid our Nation of the hate, bitterness, and divisiveness which tears at our national purpose and weakens our unity.

I fully support the action of President Johnson in summoning a commission of learned men from this body, and other communities across the Nation, to study the intolerable menace of assassination and violence which has become too frequent an occurrence to be ignored.

My heart goes out to the family of Senator Kennedy whose capacity to survive tragedy is a source of inspiration not only in the United States but abroad.

While the story of Robert F. Kennedy ended today at the moment of his greatest political victory, his message will not be lost to the American people. His life was a dedication to public service and to the uplifting of the disadvantaged and oppressed. His courage and unselfish conviction to oppose injustice, poverty, and ignorance which he never hesitated to identify, brought new hope to millions of Americans and inspired free men everywhere. In these humane contributions, he has left his family and his country with a rich and unforgettable legacy.

Hon. Gale W. McGee

OF WYOMING

Mr. President, the death by assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has left us all with a deep sense of shock and grief. But we are also experiencing the stark realization that, while character assassination in politics has almost become an accepted course of action, we cannot be deluded by its "harmlessness." The line between character assassination and political assassination is almost indistinguishable. The price of either is too high. It behooves Americans everywhere, therefore, as voters and constituents, to raise the level of expectations from those who would serve in public life.

We are experiencing today a rising sense of anger because of what the death of this remarkable young leader symbolizes and what it may portend. These feelings mix with the sorrow that we share and the compassion that we have for the Kennedy family, which has been struck once more by unspeakable tragedy, by a sorrow transcended only by the measure of service they have given this country.

For those of us outside that magnificent family, the message is clear that we must rise up to our highest level of rational behavior, to the level

of public conduct which Bob Kennedy and his family have established as a guideline for leadership. This means that we not act out of a fit of anger or grope for quick solutions to the problem that must be solved in the hearts of Americans.

It is understandable that we hear new calls for gun legislation, or demands that we pass restrictive immigration laws because Senator Kennedy's assassin was a foreigner. But if we do this, we will only deceive ourselves, even though there might be gratification for some who could point to specific legislation.

But we are thinking about and talking about political assassination and the hazards of leadership in our country. They are very real. Political assassination has become too real. In recent years and days it has claimed Robert F. Kennedy and his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy. It has claimed Dr. Martin Luther King. It has claimed Medgar Evers. And it has claimed Malcolm X and George Lincoln Rockwell, who were not greatly admired by many perhaps, but whose deaths also illustrate the frightening ease of political assassination.

This tendency reflects the evil virus of extremism injected into our body politic, first by the right wing and more lately by the so-called new left. The one describes a President as a "traitor" or a "comsymp" and the other denounces a President as a "murderer." On one side the poisonous vernacular of extremism demands "Impeach Earl Warren" and on the other it spits out "Hell no, we won't go." One brand of extremism can call a Martin Luther King "nigger," while another cries back, "Burn, baby, burn."

Political assassination differs from other crimes, but this atmosphere is also engendered by forces which affect the broader problem of crime and lawlessness in America. As child psychiatrist Robert Coles put it in *Trans-Action* magazine recently, those senseless killers Bonnie and Clyde become "us" if we pay attention to what the social critics are saying about our society today. The Nielsen ratings reflect this, too, for violence gets an audience and the media can be depended upon to go where the audience is. We must begin to demand from the media a higher level of entertainment, as well as a higher quality of news

reporting which places less emphasis on the extremes and upon bloodletting, real or verbal, and more stress on the significant and substantive events that take place every day of our lives.

In politics, too, we must all learn to disagree without being disagreeable and quit demanding that candidates hit hard, low and often in order to excite their audiences. For all these factors have helped bring to the surface the kind of nut who will kill because law and order are too slow a process for him. Draftcard burners, campus rioters, those who throw molotov cocktails in the ghettos of our cities, and those who sit behind a typewriter or a microphone to produce the mood these people operate from are equally guilty of helping to foment disrespect for law and disregard for order and for their fellow men.

It is easy to point a finger at Congress, or at the State legislatures, and say "Pass a law." But that misses the point. What we have to do to come to grips with this problem is to begin with ourselves as individuals, and with our neighbors and our own communities. We must demand a higher level of conduct and forswear name calling, fear, suspicion, and distrust. We must acquire a deeper sense of tolerance and understanding of the other fellow's point of view and take to heart President Johnson's warning:

There is never—never—any justification for the violence that tears at the fabric of our national life.

Hon. John J. Williams OF DELAWARE

Mr. President, we are all shocked by the tragic death of Robert Kennedy, and I join Senators today in expressing the deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

On the same day, two marine officers were killed in the Nation's Capital in an unprovoked incident.

The prevailing spirit of lawlessness which we see developing in our country has got to be stopped, and it can be stopped only by strict enforcement of the laws. The time is long past due when we should let it known that those who would violate our laws are going to be punished.

These senseless killings have got to be stopped.

Hon. Daniel B. Brewster

OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, it is a sad and tragic day for the American people when a man must place his life in serious danger to run for the Presidency of our country, but obviously that day has arrived.

We are a people who believe in making political choices with a ballot, not with a bullet, but now a horrible act of madness has robbed us of the opportunity to do so.

Our entire Nation—in fact, the entire world—and the Kennedy family have suffered a terrible loss—a loss that will never be forgotten.

Nothing can stop the assassin's bullet once it has been fired. Now we must try to keep the assassin away from his next target. We must unite the country in a massive fight against all criminal violence; and we must demand the respect of all for the laws of our land.

It is fitting to say a few words about Senator Robert Kennedy and the Kennedy family. Robert Kennedy could have chosen to lead a long, happy, and untroubled life. He chose, instead, to strive for the betterment of his country, and his vehicle was politics. Into American politics he breathed a creative energy that is legendary in its own time.

Robert Kennedy's politics always combined the most noble goals with the determination to see them realized. He spoke often and eloquently of the need to improve our society, especially of the need to bring justice and economic opportunity to those segments of our society where sadly they are lacking. This year, his convictions led him into the presidential arena, because "America," he said, "can do better."

The Kennedy family has always taken seriously the need to "do better," and for many years the United States has been the beneficiary of its sense of responsibility. Many of us remember the wartime valor of Joseph Kennedy, Jr.; nobody can forget how President Kennedy uplifted our aspirations; the vision, candor, and courage of Senator Robert Kennedy are a part of our lives.

American politics will not be the same without Robert Kennedy, just as they were changed unalterably by the death of President Kennedy. We can draw some consolation, however, from the membership in the Senate of Edward Kennedy,

and I fervently hope that his intelligent voice will continue to be heard throughout America for decades to come.

The Kennedy family has contributed as much to its country and sacrificed as much for it as any other in American history. The shooting in Los Angeles and the death of my colleague Robert Kennedy emphasizes the greatness of this contribution and the tragedy of each sacrifice. To this great family, once again I express my sorrow and extend my sympathy.

Hon. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.

OF VIRGINIA

Mr. President, the Nation is saddened today. The Senate is saddened.

No longer will the desk directly in front of me be occupied by Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York.

Senator Kennedy was gunned down by an assassin's bullet.

He will be missed in the Senate and in the Nation. His colleagues one and all recognized him as a man of ability and a political leader of unusual talent.

He sought to serve his fellow man according to the dictates of his heart.

He was struck down in the prime of life, yet his experience in Government was of many years duration—having served in both the executive branch as a Cabinet officer and in the legislative branch as a Senator.

I have communicated to Mrs. Kennedy and her children my deepest and heartfelt sympathy. The Kennedy family is in my thoughts and prayers and those of Mrs. Byrd.

Hon. Robert P. Griffin

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, shock and grief are not translatable into words. But I know I speak for the people of Michigan as I add my voice to the eloquent tributes being paid in this Chamber to our late colleague.

Senator Robert Kennedy was no stranger to Michigan. The people of my State knew and admired the Senator from New York—as they did

his brother, the late President of the United States.

As we mourn his passing and honor his memory, I speak with a heavy heart as one who had the opportunity to work closely with Senator Kennedy over a number of years in Congress.

Our relationship dates back to the days of the McClellan committee hearings, which preceded the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin law in 1959. He was chief counsel of that committee, and I was serving then as a Member of the House of Representatives.

Our friendship was renewed and strengthened after I came to the U.S. Senate in May 1966.

For the past 2 years, we sat next to each other and worked closely as members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. We shared a distinction: He was the most junior of the Democratic members of the committee, and I am the most junior Republican. Though our politics were different—and we sometimes differed in our approach to problem solving—we enjoyed a relationship which always included understanding, cooperation, and respect.

Senator Kennedy's quick intelligence and quiet courage, his warm compassion and keen sense of humor, will always be remembered by those who had the opportunity to work with him in matters great and small.

Mr. President, the Senate, the Nation, and the world will miss Robert Kennedy.

My heart goes out to the Kennedy family which has known so much tragedy. On behalf of the people of Michigan, Mrs. Griffin, and myself, I extend our deepest sympathy.

Hon. Hiram L. Fong
OF HAWAII

Mr. President, it is almost incomprehensible that today, less than 5 years since this body paid tribute to our fallen President John F. Kennedy, we should be mourning the tragic and untimely death of his younger brother, our friend and colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, slain in much the same dastardly manner, at the hands of a cowardly gunman.

This latest tragedy is so horrifying it seems almost like a nightmare. Yet, stunned and shocked though we all are, we know we shall not waken to find this is just a bad dream. The

breath of life has indeed been snuffed out of a young man, a young father, a young son, a young leader in Government, and this Chamber will never more be graced by his presence.

It is here that he fought some of his most important legislative battles, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always persistent in the pursuit of what he believed to be right. It is here that he showed his true mettle and his real capabilities in the legislative arena.

Having known Robert Kennedy when he was Attorney General of the United States and having worked with him in the Senate, I was greatly impressed with his ability, with his innate decency, and with his compassion for the poor and less fortunate. Brilliant, vigorous, dynamic, courageous, adventurous, dedicated, idealistic, humane, Robert Kennedy exuded the vitality and the spirit of America.

In a day when many seek escape from the pressing problems tormenting America, Robert Kennedy never wavered in his efforts to overcome these problems, always giving an extra measure of devotion to duty. Born to material wealth, Robert Kennedy could have existed in indolent ease, but like his brother Jack, he chose instead to dedicate his life to serving his countrymen.

It would have been thoroughly understandable if, after President Kennedy's assassination, Robert Kennedy in grief and in bitterness had left Government service. But he was never a quitter, and so he remained in public life striving toward the goals so eloquently espoused by President Kennedy and adding a new dimension to modern American political history.

Our hearts go out to his wife, Ethel, to his children, and to the members of his family on whom so much anguish has already been inflicted. We can only hope they derive some comfort from these expressions of esteem, respect and affection for their beloved Bobby, whose memory we honor today.

Mrs. Fong joins me in extending our prayers and deepest sympathy to the Kennedys at this time of excruciating sorrow.

Hon. William Proxmire
OF WISCONSIN

Mr. President, the death of Senator Robert Kennedy robs America of its clearest and

strongest voice for compassion and concern for the victims of poverty and discrimination. No man in public life was more deeply or uncompromisingly concerned with the struggle for justice for the hungry and the oppressed. He was their champion, and what a fighting champion he was.

He was deeply admired and respected by many of his fellow Senators. But I would be less than frank if I did not concede that he had many who opposed him and disagreed deeply with him. Throughout America no one was more loved and more hated. Bobby Kennedy was as much distinguished by his enemies as by his friends.

It was characteristic of Bob Kennedy that his last words were to express concern for others in his group who had been shot. He was a noble and gallant man.

Hon. Joseph S. Clark OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, once again a tragic, senseless, and brutal assassination has darkened the spirit of our troubled land. Once again a young and brilliant statesman has been cut down at the acme of his greatness. Only tears are eloquent enough to speak of the death of Robert Kennedy; words are insufficient.

Surely now we must summon the courage to look deep into the soul of America to find out what is wrong. What has bred the hatred and violence that has marked and marred our progress as a nation in recent years? What can we do to heal this sickness and bring peace to our families, to our streets, and to our society?

Some things we know we must do. We must move on, much farther than the timid steps of Congress, to curb the menace of the gun. We must call a halt to the progressive brutalization of ourselves and our children through the incessant displays of violence and death on television and motion pictures. We must press ahead toward the goal of social and economic justice for all Americans. That, more than anything else, was Robert Kennedy's mission in public life.

No nation, no matter how rich or powerful, can call itself a civilized State where the rule of law has been replaced by the rule of terror, where assassination determines politics and fear stalks

the streets. Our people cry out for peace—peace in our homes and cities, peace across the world. We who serve the people must strive with unremitting efforts to bring them that deeply yearned for peace.

Hon. Fred R. Harris OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, a small bouquet of pink rosebuds, widow's lace, and fern now rests upon the lonely and vacant desk to my right. It bespeaks the melancholy nature of this day.

The death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a shattering tragedy for each of us and for our country. No expression can convey the feeling and sympathy Mrs. Harris and I have for Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and the family at this sad, sad time.

Senator Kennedy daily lived with enormous personal burdens of duty and moral commitment which caused him, with incomparable courage to take upon himself the cloak of the alienated, the despised and dispossessed and to become their voice.

Those of us who survive him will never again be the same, though we must take heart and seek renewed purpose from the lessons and ideals of his life.

Appropriate now for him and those who worked closely with him in this body and in other endeavors are the words he loved from Shakespeare's "King Henry V":

This story shall the good man teach his son;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But, we in it shall be remembered;
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition:
And gentlemen in England now a-bed,
Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a letter addressed to the

Vice President of the United States expressing the sorrow of the German Bundestag at the death of Senator Kennedy, and signed by the president of that legislative body.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The President of the German Bundestag has asked me to transmit to you in your capacity as President of the United States Senate the following message of condolence of the German Bundestag:

"Tiefbewegt spreche ich Ihnen, Herr Präsident, und dem Senat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika die aufrichtige Anteilnahme des Deutschen Bundestags aus zu dem überaus schmerzlichen und tragischen Verlust, den Sie und die Vereinigten Staaten durch den Tod von Senator Robert Kennedy erlitten haben. Der Deutsche Bundestag trauert mit Ihnen um eine große Hoffnung Ihres Landes. Er gedenkt in herzlicher Anteilnahme auch der zweifach schwer geprüften Familie Kennedy.

"Ihr aufrichtig ergebener

"GERSTENMAIER,
"Präsident des Deutschen Bundestags."

The English translation reads as follows:

"Deeply moved, I express to you, Mr. President, and to the Senate of the United States of America, the sincere participation of the German Bundestag in the painful and tragic loss which you and the United States have suffered through the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. The German Bundestag is in mourning with you over a great hope of your country. It also is thinking with heartfelt sympathy of the again so severely tried Kennedy family.

"Very sincerely yours,

"GERSTENMAIER,
"President of the German Bundestag."

Hon. Alan Bible
OF NEVADA

Mr. President, the passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a tragic loss to the country. His death is a personal loss to the District of Columbia Committee, on which he served, and to the residents of the District of Columbia, in whose interest he worked.

Senator Kennedy devoted himself to improving the way of life for citizens living in the Nation's Capital. As a member of the District Committee, he consistently supported legislation to provide better medical care for more people through expanded hospital facilities and public health programs.

Senator Kennedy went out into the community to see for himself the deplorable conditions under which many people have to live within sight of the Capitol. He was a cosponsor of legislation to improve the shameful situation, and to stop abuses of the poor by some of the landlords.

Robert Kennedy was well known for the love of children. He was a strong supporter of programs to help children in Washington to rise from the slums and to become productive members of society. Senator Kennedy favored legislation to improve the quality of education for the youngest children just starting school through the young adults graduating from high schools and colleges in Washington. He was a guiding force behind examinations of public assistance in Washington, especially as it pertained to children, and helped to secure Senate approval of plans to provide adequate day care service and foster home care for dependent children. Also, he was interested in recreational facilities, and helped to establish recreation areas in which children could play.

Robert Kennedy championed home rule for the District of Columbia, and he supported each step on the road toward achieving the goal of true representational democracy in the Capital City.

Senator Kennedy worked for the people of Washington, and they in turn loved and respected him.

The committee will miss his contributions. The District of Columbia will miss his presence.

Hon. J. Caleb Boggs
OF DELAWARE

Mr. President, I join Senators in expressing my great sorrow at the passing of our colleague from the State of New York and with them offer my heartfelt sympathy to his widow and family.

His loss is great to his family and State; but the force of his personality and the vigor of his advocacy of the ideals in which he believed made him well known throughout the Nation and the world, and his loss is therefore much greater. His children, cruelly deprived of their father, can always know that by his life he enriched the lives of all of us.

In my contact with Senator Kennedy I always

found him to be cordial and friendly. On several occasions when he had an interest in matters in Delaware, he was most understanding and thoughtful. I consider it a great privilege to have known him and to have served with him in this body.

Hon. E. L. Bartlett

OF ALASKA

Mr. President, twice in 2 months bullets have been fired that have sounded to the farthest corners of the earth. The first, fired last April 4, brought an end to the earthly life of Martin Luther King. The second exploded just yesterday morning. It ended the brilliant career of Robert Francis Kennedy, U.S. Senator, candidate for the Nation's highest office, dedicated citizen and patriot, and outstanding leader. Both, young men, have been savagely destroyed in the prime of their lives.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and now Robert Francis Kennedy—all dead, all victims of assassins' bullets. So many before them. How many to follow? Mr. President, I am overcome with grief. I mourn. I mourn for Robert Kennedy, for his wife and young children, for his family so beset by tragedy time and time again. I mourn for the Nation, constantly recoiling under a wave of violence which threatens to envelop it.

Violence fills the air. Violent death ever threatens to end the lives of any of us. Our leaders have become easy prey to madmen. Private citizens are consumed by fear. They fear being in their homes. They fear being on the streets. Emblazoned across the daily headlines of our newspapers is news of murders, rapes, burglaries. Countless numbers of lives are snuffed out in the time it takes to bat an eye.

How does one react to tragedy twice visited upon a nation in such short time? The horror, the revulsion, one initially experiences eventually gives way to more refined emotional reaction. Emotion and intellect merge, groping for understanding. Somehow the enormity of these brutal acts must be reduced to human comprehension. We must hunt for causes and seek reasons. We look for culprits—scapegoats, if you will. We search for ways to lessen the guilt we all feel, to lessen the pain and anguish. We want desper-

ately to console the bereaved family, to lessen their grief. We want to reassure the Nation. And from it all, we look for some hope, some sign that good can come from evil, some indication that all is not lost.

I have searched the depths of my soul, Mr. President, but have found no answers. I do not know what I can do. My remorse is too great. In some less emotional moment, farther removed from this catastrophe, we can judge better what can be done to bring hope from the despair which overwhelms us.

I pray for the soul of Robert Francis Kennedy, Mr. President. I pray that the bereaved family and friends may find comfort. I pray for the Nation.

Hon. Paul J. Fannin

OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to our departed friend, Robert F. Kennedy.

The Nation and the world are stunned and in mourning today over the wounding and subsequent death of Senator Kennedy. My heartfelt sympathy and prayers are extended to his courageous wife and family. They bear the greatest loss, rewarded, in part perhaps, by the knowledge that he made a great contribution in the service of his country.

Mr. President, his every expressed thought showed concern and consideration for his family, his Nation and his fellowman.

It was my privilege to travel with him in connection with the Subcommittee on Indian Education. He was the chairman of the subcommittee and devoted much effort in field hearings around the country seeking worthwhile solutions to problems in this area. His dedicated work and compassionate consideration of the problems of our Indian youth were an inspiration to all who participated in this activity. His goal in this endeavor was to help these unfortunate first Americans to rise above their poverty and deprivation. Already his efforts have produced tangible results that will multiply because he was willing to give the time and leadership necessary to this program.

A side of Senator Kennedy perhaps little known or appreciated was his wit and humor, which were a rich blend of subtlety and mirth. Senator Kennedy often surprised those around

him with a sense of humor that was so subtle as to be overlooked in public.

His contributions to the Government of the United States will be lasting.

He leaves a shining and exemplary record of public service, and above all, I think, a dedication and devotion to public service found among few men no matter what their rank or station. His unselfishness in private life was well known to those about him, and while many may disagree with his approach to some of the problems of our times, none can say that he did not give everything he had to the task at hand.

His passing is a great loss to the Nation. I mourn his death, as do all Americans of good will, and pray that from this tragedy may arise an understanding and basis of communication that will unite our Nation as never before.

Just one thought comes to mind at this moment, Mr. President. It is a saying often expressed in many ways, but one which I think particularly suits the tragic timing of Senator Kennedy's passing in the heat of the battle and the bloom of life, cut down we think by the bullet of a foreign assassin.

Whom the gods love die young—no matter when they die.

Hon. Stephen M. Young OF OHIO

Mr. President, it is with profound regret that I join Senators in expressing sorrow over the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. It can be said that the assassination of Senator Kennedy was the deed of one irrational man—a misguided extremist. The same could be said of the murder of his brother, the late, great President John F. Kennedy, and of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. That is a valid explanation insofar as it goes, but it does not absolve our society from some responsibility for these tragic events. The truth must be faced that these insane acts are in some way attributable to the dangerous tensions and the deep stresses that have afflicted our Nation in recent years.

Let us hope that the senseless assassination of Senator Kennedy will result in a dedication by all Americans to eradicate the divisiveness that threatens to alienate one American from another and a renewal of the bright promise of America.

Mr. President, violence and crime are increasingly rampant throughout the Nation. We Americans need God's help. The watered-down gun-control bill recently passed in the Senate is inadequate. We in the Congress have a responsibility to enact into law more effective gun control legislation to minimize the danger of bloodshed, violence and death contributed to by the present unrestricted and insane traffic in firearms.

I extend my sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children and to all members of the Kennedy family who have known death and heartbreak as few families have. They have lost a husband, father, son, and brother. The Nation has lost one of its finest sons and a leader of great promise.

Hon. Vance Hartke OF INDIANA

Mr. President, for whom do we mourn?

Not only for the Kennedy family, but for the American people, for a nation in which unreasoning violence has claimed all of us among its victims.

How do we honor this man?

As he was concerned for the need of social change, we must here and now begin a new foundation of social and economic hope and opportunity. We can honor him only by returning to the unfinished business of America—national unity, respect for life, and for the human aspirations of those less fortunate in our common heritage.

Hon. Joseph D. Tydings OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, Justice Holmes once said:

As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Robert Kennedy lived the action and passion of our time. He died in action. He spent his life; he gave his life in highest service to his country and to his fellow man. To those ignored he gave attention; to those in despair he gave hope; to those in need he gave help. To citizens blind to the fate of their fellow man he presented

the discomfiting specter of the other America. He gave himself.

Bob Kennedy, my friend, is dead. But the challenge of a newer world he pursued so selflessly remains. Let us be equal to that challenge.

In the long roll of history it will be marked for Bob Kennedy, as it was for his brother John: "There was a man." We will not soon forget these men or their compassion. As Pericles said centuries ago:

Heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own—where the column with its epitaph declares it—there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.

God have mercy upon the soul of Robert Kennedy. God have mercy upon his family. God have mercy upon us all.

Hon. Philip A. Hart
OF MICHIGAN

Mr. President, all of us in the Chamber today feel understandably compelled to express our grief and our horror.

Our grief and horror, I know, is of the same measure as that felt by every citizen of the Nation—so we say nothing new or revealing.

By the same token, no words we can utter will be of much comfort to a family overburdened with grief.

Yet we do it—I suppose because we feel to a very small degree relieved by pouring our sorrow and shock into a common pool.

In Senator Robert Kennedy, we have lost a fine talent, a keen intellect and a compassionate leader. We grieve with his family, a family that has already endured so much.

After that, all other words seem hollow and repetitive. I am deeply depressed. We all are. We are anxious about a society in which this could happen.

And if there is any comfort we can offer the family, it would be to express our unanimous resolve that we will devote ourselves to what will be a complicated and difficult task—the task of reducing and eliminating the chance of its happening again.

Hon. John G. Tower
OF TEXAS

Mr. President, I wish to express my profound sadness on the passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. I often vigorously disagreed with him on major issues that confront our people and, on occasion, engaged him in debate.

He was a worthy adversary—a man of considerable intellect and talent. I have always believed that responsible dissent and disagreement are health manifestations of a free country.

I am outraged when the advocate of any political point of view in this country is killed by the senseless and cowardly means of assassination. Senator Kennedy had a view of government and its role in American life that it was certainly his right—indeed his duty—to advocate. I am profoundly sorry that this outstanding public servant is no longer with us.

Hon. Lee Metcalf
OF MONTANA

Mr. President, the whole Nation mourns the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. To indict the American people for the murder of this great man is to be false to his memory. Millions loved him; others who did not agree with him admired and respected him. His courage, his intelligence, his energy, but above all his sympathy and compassion for the poor, the distressed and deprived, and the underprivileged, captured the hearts of Americans everywhere. Senator Kennedy had endeared himself to the miners of western Montana and the farmers of our eastern prairies just as he was loved by the people of his own State of New York.

The senseless act of a sick man has deprived America of a dynamic leader, a thoughtful and innovative student of government. The loss of his leadership will be felt for many years ahead. Mrs. Metcalf and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to Senator Kennedy's family and express our sorrow at the death of our friend.

Hon. Hugh Scott
OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, I am overwhelmed by sadness at the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. His assassination is an act of barbarism that does violence to the whole meaning of America.

I grieve for Senator Kennedy's family. But I grieve equally for a nation that chooses its leaders under the rule of law and then loses its leaders under the wrath of violence.

In less than 5 years, three Americans who espoused progress in our Nation have been shot down by fanatics who intruded their own warped wills upon our constitutional processes.

I commend the House of Representatives for acting promptly to pass the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which earlier passed the Senate. I am a cosponsor of that legislation. It provides new controls of hand guns and offers additional measures to fight crime in America.

But we need to do much more. Every American who has lost a family member because of the brutal act of a criminal suffers equally with the survivors of this latest assassination. We as a society do not provide the basic protection against assaults upon life and limb which daily add to the grim statistics of death and mayhem.

We need to get at the root causes of crime in America. We must work harder to prevent crime. And we need to stiffen and speed up the procedures to try and punish those who violate our laws.

Hon. Len B. Jordan
OF IDAHO

Mr. President, my sympathy and my prayers are with the members of Senator Kennedy's family. Our ranks are lessened today; our Nation, diminished. The tragedy which has taken from us one of our most dedicated public servants is a senseless and shameful example of the madness which is defiling our country. It is my fervent hope that this act of violence which has numbed us all shall serve to renew, to intensify our efforts to seek out those ways by which our Nation can be returned to the peaceful pursuit of its destiny, a pursuit uncorrupted by the outrages to man's dignity which have become so increasingly frequent.

Let us rededicate ourselves to this endeavor. May the memory of our fallen colleague serve as an inspiration in our search for those answers which will help to erase violence from our land.

Hon. Edmund S. Muskie
OF MAINE

Mr. President, this is a day of profound grief and sorrow for each of us as we mourn the tragic death of a beloved colleague and friend.

It is a day when we seek to marshal all our spiritual resources as we pray for Robert Kennedy and his loved ones, and for our country.

It is a day for grave contemplation of those shortcomings of our society and ourselves which can generate such violent and terrible consequences.

It is a day of foreboding, and disquiet, and uneasiness as we face the uncertainties which tomorrow may bring.

Above all, it is a day to pray for the wisdom, the understanding, the patience, and the will to do what must be done to make our country a just and peaceful place, where each of us is a neighbor to all others.

It is clear that there is much work to be done to deal with grievances, to eliminate inequities, to build a society governed by laws which dispense justice as well as maintain order.

Robert Kennedy was identified in the eyes and hearts and minds of human beings around the globe with a burning desire to do what he could to eradicate injustice. It was for this purpose that he turned to the democratic political process which he understood so well.

As we mourn him—all of us—let us dedicate ourselves to that same process to do effectively the work that must be done—applying reason, balanced judgment, tolerance, and determination to that end.

There is no more appropriate way, Mr. President, to pay tribute to this unusual man of great talent and deep compassion.

Hon. Henry M. Jackson
OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, for 15 of his 42 years I was privileged to know Robert Francis Kennedy as his friend, associate, and colleague.

He was a man of dogged determination, giant capacity, and great courage.

His life was devoted to serving his country, and in those few years he made an imprint which will last. He took up the mantle of leadership at a tragic time and carried on to bring new inspiration and purpose to the lives of millions of Americans.

He had personal wealth, but his greatest concern was for those not so fortunate. He spoke and acted forcefully on behalf of those who have not shared fairly in the fruits of our country, socially or economically.

Robert Kennedy was a man with great love for his family. Love for each other was manifest in the family life of all the Kennedys. His wife, Ethel, and the children were a part of all he did, and he was a part of all they did. The Kennedys were constantly together around the country and around the world.

The Kennedy family is an inspiration and example for all Americans. In this time of renewed tragedy, our hearts and our sympathies go out to them.

Hon. Frank E. Moss

OF UTAH

Mr. President, I mourn with all Senators this morning—indeed I mourn with all America and all the world the passing of Robert F. Kennedy.

My mind rebels at acceptance of such a great tragedy, and I am haunted by memories of 4 years ago when in the same brutal and senseless manner President John F. Kennedy was torn from our midst.

Robert Kennedy was a brilliant, dedicated, active, and uncommonly promising leader. At the peak of his promise and in a moment of triumph he was cut down.

How my heart aches for Ethel and their children—and how I wish that I could bring comfort to them.

How I mourn for Teddy and Joan. Teddy and Bobby were so close. A great void will exist for our colleague who remains in this Chamber.

How my sympathy goes out to father Joseph P. Kennedy and mother Rose Kennedy who have suffered such grievous sorrows and tragedies with their brilliant and vital family.

And to all the sisters and their families, the in-laws, and especially the nieces and nephews goes my sympathy. Bobby had a special relationship with young people. His river trip last summer was an outing of young folks, as were all of his outings.

On this sad day I offer a prayer for Robert F. Kennedy and his loved ones.

Hon. John Sherman Cooper

OF KENTUCKY

Mr. President, our thoughts today are with Mrs. Robert Kennedy, with the children, and with all the Kennedy family, struck by the tragedy of this latest crushing blow.

I did not know Senator Kennedy as well as I knew his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, but thinking of his work in the Senate and public life, one concern of Senator Kennedy stands out clearly—his concern for the disadvantaged, the underprivileged, those with unequal and little opportunity—the poor, from whatever cause.

His work expressed his compassion and sense of justice. Perhaps our best tribute will be paid, if the Congress and the country move quickly toward the accomplishment of his ideal—an equal chance in life—equal justice and equality for all our citizens.

Much has been said about violence in our country—and it grows from many roots. Perhaps this tragedy will arouse our country to the study of its causes and their removal. Many have spoken of the devotion of Senator Robert Kennedy and his wife and family to their church and to religious belief. We may hope that their example may be followed, and exert a healing influence in our troubled country.

Hon. Norris Cotton

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. President, I am grief stricken for the Kennedy family. I am heartsick for my country. Violence breeds violence. Unless we set our faces sternly and relentlessly against violence and disorder by anybody, anywhere, in any form, the Nation will shortly become something I do not want to live to see.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale

OF MINNESOTA

Mr. President, I cannot express how profoundly and deeply I am grieved by Senator Robert F. Kennedy's death.

Senator Kennedy and I were next to each other in Senate seniority. We sat next to each other in the back row created for freshman Senators in 1965. We stood together on most of the issues which came before this body.

While the tragedy of the death of a friend and a colleague is quite enough in itself, the country has also suffered a serious blow in the brutal slaying of Senator Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy was a magnificent leader. He met all the standards of leadership—devotion to the real issues of the Nation, the courage and determination to take the best positions in the face of opposition, the ability to gather support in this body and in the Nation for the causes he supported, the faith in our system which enabled him to move on in the face of personal tragedies—and remained optimistic in spite of the problems he helped to identify and bring to the attention of the national conscience.

There are never enough men like Robert Kennedy in our Nation. The violence and senselessness of his death are a deep shock to the very structure of the American system of government.

For it has now been proved beyond doubt that no man may run for high office or pursue high causes without serious risk to his very life. Among all the categories of lawlessness, violence, and intolerance, there is no more terrible arrogance and intolerance than that of a man who is determined to decide issues by force and by death.

If it is now in fact true that a free expression of one's opinion—whatever that opinion might be—places his life in the hands of those who disagree, then the country is in danger of losing its heritage and its claim to moral leadership.

I offer my sympathy and shared grief and that of my family to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children, to Senator Edward Kennedy and his family, to all of the Kennedy family, and to all of those who deeply admired and respected Robert F. Kennedy.

We have all suffered a great personal loss. And America has suffered as well by the loss of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Birch Bayh

OF INDIANA

Mr. President, another light has gone out of our lives.

I remember the overwhelming feeling of loss that my wife and I shared with the Nation in 1963 when John Kennedy was taken from us.

I remember our sense of profound relief when, after we had gone down together in a plane in Massachusetts in 1964, we learned in our own hospital beds that Edward Kennedy would recover.

I suppose we believed then that the tragedy with which the Kennedy family had lived for a generation had ended, and that only the blessings they had reaped through the unstinting public service would remain.

And now, this.

What can any of us say that would somehow ease the pain being endured by Mrs. Robert Kennedy, by her children, and by the entire Kennedy family? Only that we will try, with every fiber of our beings, to emulate the sterling example that this family has given us—the desire and willingness to serve our Nation, a manifest concern for the suffering of humanity, a deep and abiding belief that our Nation with God's help, can become a torch that will light the way of the world toward lasting peace.

These are the things that Robert Kennedy believed. If we work to fashion these ideals into reality, then he will not have lived or died in vain.

Hon. Strom Thurmond

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, I was sorry and grieved this morning to learn of the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York. Senator Kennedy's office adjoins mine in the Senate Office Building, and I had occasion to see him frequently as we both went about our work in the Nation's Capital. I have sent a message to Mrs. Kennedy and to Senator Edward Kennedy, expressing to them my deepest sympathy at their loss, and I have requested that my condolences be extended to other members of the family. That this prominent family has suffered yet another great tragedy

touches all of us deeply. I hope and pray that each of us will assume a personal responsibility to address ourselves to restoration of peace in our land.

The Nation and the world are shocked by this tragic event, and our thoughts at this time are especially with Mrs. Kennedy and her children in the loss of this husband and father. It is indeed a sad day for all Americans.

Hon. Mark O. Hatfield

OF OREGON

Mr. President, we mourn most deeply today the death of our colleague Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York. I wish to convey from the floor of the Senate my sympathy and condolences to the Senator's widow and children and to every one of the members of the Senator's family during this time of great grief and sorrow. It is a time, of course, of grief and sorrow and mourning for all America. And it is a time, too, when all of us are filled with revulsion at the monstrousness of the assassination and the apparently growing pervasiveness of hate and bitterness and brutality and materialism in our country.

I pray, Mr. President, for a new national commitment to the spiritual values of the Prince of Peace.

There is much to be done in this Chamber and throughout all the other chambers of government in the United States to bring sense and decency and justice to all of our land, true enough. But the long-range solution to the problems which beset us, in my judgment, must include an awareness and a commitment to the sanctity of human life and to the power of God to heal the soul.

The murder of Senator Kennedy brought on another nightmare for many of us, and we were witness once more—once more too often—to the scenes of past political murders and also past riots in the streets, disturbances in our universities, the killing in Vietnam, and the numerous murders of ordinary citizens. We observe rage and hate. The land is a tumult. What can we learn and indeed what will be learned from these many acts which range from violent to barbaric? What is the solution or a part of the solution,

for our society? What course should we follow? In short, where shall we go?

I believe that no lasting solution will be set forth here or elsewhere merely by political oratory or by repressive measures to "keep people in line." Of course we must maintain law and order. Of course we must do our utmost to attain domestic tranquility. Of course we must labor in the Halls of the Congress and in all of our citizens groups to advance the social welfare of our countrymen and erase some of the breeding places for violence, bitterness, and hatred. Of course we must do these things, and we will do them. But all of these legislative changes and institutional changes alone will not provide the fundamental answer.

Mr. President, I believe the answer we seek will be found in a spiritual revolution in America. A revolution of the spirit will be a revolution waged not with instruments of destruction, not with guns and knives and rocks and bombs, but a revolution which employs the instruments of Divine love to conquer hate. This revolution will seek to transform man into a creature who will be spiritually fulfilled rather than spiritually empty and spiritually starved. This kind of spiritual revolution will bring forth man's true relevance and importance as a human personality to God and to his fellow man.

We have many of the trappings of a rich society today; but we also have many of the trappings of a country which suffers poverty of the spirit.

Mr. President, I pray that we shall carry forward the very best which Senator Robert Kennedy brought to this country; and that we shall cleanse ourselves of the disease of hate and shall bring forth once more the right, the good, and the true, which will bring us peace and happiness when we practice the commandment to "love thy neighbor."

Hon. Frank Carlson

OF KANSAS

Mr. President, once again the Nation has been shaken by a cruel, senseless murder of an outstanding public figure. And, once again, the Kennedy family is the victim of a shocking tragedy.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the Kennedy family at this tragic time.

The natural reaction is to try and lash out in bereaved anger in an effort to fix the blame. This is no time for a bereaved Nation to search guiltily for a scapegoat, rather, we need to realize that reason and compassion is needed to end this era of violence.

We are in the midst of a national mood that has permitted vocal dissidents to practice the philosophy that the end justifies the means—a philosophy that says we need not obey the laws with which we disagree. The result has been that violence has infected and jeopardized our very way of life.

I would again like to remind our people of the words of President Abraham Lincoln when he said:

Let every American remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear down the charter of his children's liberty.

We have seen enough of violence and tearing down. In the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, let us reaffirm our moral integrity and begin once again to build our Nation.

Hon. Milton R. Young

OF NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, this is another sad day for the U.S. Senate, the Nation, and the entire world. In the tragic assassination of our distinguished colleague, Senator Robert Kennedy, we have lost a highly respected and brilliant leader.

I have had the privilege and honor of serving with three Kennedy brothers. Like all other Members of the U.S. Senate, I had a great respect and admiration for the late President Kennedy and his brothers, Robert and Edward. This is truly one of America's most remarkable families. They are brilliant, personable, witty, and just naturally great leaders. They have the fine qualities that command the greatest esteem, affection, and loyalty of people all over the world.

Tragedy has hit this family many times. They have borne far more than their share of misfortune and tragedy. I feel a deep sense of personal loss, as I have always felt very close to Robert Kennedy and all of his family. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Ethel Kennedy and all of the Kennedy family.

Hon. Wallace F. Bennett

OF UTAH

Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to our departed colleague, Robert F. Kennedy of New York. It was with profound sorrow that I learned of his death this morning.

This was a dynamic young man who came our way, brimming with vitality, life, and accomplishments. You might say that Government service was virtually his whole life, first as the son of an American Ambassador, then as a staff member on the Hill, later at the Justice Department, and most recently as a Senator from New York.

He had a tremendous capacity for work and perseverance. History undoubtedly will devote a great deal of space to Robert F. Kennedy, and I am sure he will deserve it. Certainly each time that he participated in Senate debates and was addressed as the "distinguished Senator from New York," the description went far beyond the formalities dictated by Senate practice. He had a distinguished career—but one that was cut far short of what might have been.

This tragic end to a young and vigorous life is a deep loss to America. I hope that we can eventually look back at his death as the turning point after which we began to return to a sense of justice and personal responsibility in this country—a sense that has long been missing.

Personally, Mr. President, I feel that the country and the Senate have paused far too many times lately to pay tribute to a fallen leader cut down by an assassin's bullet.

Mrs. Bennett and I in this sad hour have extended our deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family—a family which has already known far too much sorrow and tragedy.

Hon. George D. Aiken

OF VERMONT

Mr. President, at a time like this I am at a loss for words.

I have known Bobby Kennedy for a long time.

It was my privilege to work with him when he was a Senate employee, when he served as Attorney General, and when he became a U.S. Senator from New York.

Robert Kennedy was a powerful influence for good in the field of National Government.

Whether one agreed with him or not on the issues of the day, all persons agreed that he kept both Congress and the executive branch of the Government on their toes and a bit more anxious to meet the public needs.

As for his wife, Ethel, and his children, we do not have to say that they have our full sympathy. They can and will be eternally proud of their husband and father. The legacy he leaves them will always be a source of pride and honor.

If there were words adequate to express our sorrow, I would hunt for them, but I realize now that such a search would indeed be futile.

Hon. Winston L. Prouty OF VERMONT

Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart and a great feeling of personal loss that I rise to pay tribute to the memory of the late junior Senator from New York. Mrs. Prouty joins me in deepest sympathy to his widow, his children, and members of the Kennedy family. My sorrow is hard to express. It is not easy for me to translate into words the tears in my eyes, the lump in my throat, the pain in my heart when I think of the passing of Robert F. Kennedy.

For me, perhaps, it can best be expressed in the simple phrase "He was my friend." This man—born and raised in New England—was a man of vision. Robert Kennedy dreamed great dreams—not so much for himself as for his Nation and her people.

While the means of achieving his dreams may be contested by men of good faith, the ideals and goals he held for America's future are those shared by all our citizens. Now he is gone, and we shall never know the magnitude of the contributions he might have made toward fulfilling the destiny of the United States.

Our personal grief expressed here today is symbolic of the grief of our Nation—and, yes, the grief of freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. As we pass through this chapter of the American tragedy, we must draw together in unity and rededicate ourselves to the task of finding ways to accomplish the American dream.

Son, brother, father, friend; as each, Robert F.

Kennedy seemed to have one goal: Excellence, the pursuit of which was his measure as a man. A man so deserving of our silent grief and our private tears.

Hon. James O. Eastland OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. President, this is one of those rare moments in the history of the Senate when all conflicts of political philosophy and sectional interest, all personal ambitions and animosities are swept away by a tragedy so unbearable and incomprehensible as to bind us together in mutual grief at the loss of our young colleague, felled at the height of his career and in the prime of his life.

The story of how a father and his sons, descendants of Irish immigrants, swiftly rose by their talent and industry to claim a place in our young Nation's history, is in itself symbolic of the American dream. Their rejection of the leisurely life which wealth assured, for a total commitment to their Nation's service, and to the ideas and ideals in which they believe, recalls to mind the words of Theodore Roosevelt:

Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.

As I contemplate this tragedy, I am overwhelmed with the striking and prophetic similarity between the Kennedys of Massachusetts and the Lamars of Mississippi, whom his brother so deeply admired.

Our late President, John F. Kennedy, writing of the Lamars of Mississippi in his book "Profiles in Courage," quoted the following line from Washington correspondent, William Preston Johnson:

The fatal dowry of genius was on that house * * * A rollick in his father's home was an impressive experience; for Lucius Lamar's uncles included Mirabeau Bonaparte, whose charge at San Jacinto broke the Mexican line and made him the second President of the Texas Republic; Jefferson Jackson, Thomas Randolph, and Lavoisier Le Grand, indicating in the christener a changing interest from history to politics and from politics to chemistry.

Our late President recounted how the tragic and violent events of the Civil War deprived

Mississippi of the talented leadership of the Lamar family, as violence has now deprived the Nation of the talent of these sons of a famous Massachusetts family.

As stated by John F. Kennedy in his book:

Among the ruling families of the South "the spilling of the wine" was especially heavy.

He recalled how Lamar's youngest brother, "supposedly the most brilliant, Jefferson Mirabeau, was killed as he leaped his horse over the enemy's breastworks at Crampton's Gap," and his cousin John fell near him, and how Lamar's other brother, "Thompson Bird, colonel of the 5th Florida, was killed in the fighting at Petersburg."

How could a young Senator from Massachusetts named John Fitzgerald Kennedy feel such moving admiration for the sons of a Mississippi family that rode with and fought valiantly for the Army of the Confederacy?

Because, while the interest, the ideas, and ideals that divide us are many, there is a universal creed that binds together in mutual admiration those men in every state and nation, of every political persuasion, who in the words of Theodore Roosevelt "dare mighty things."

Perhaps this creed is best summed up in the words of the poet, Sir Henry Newbolt:

To count the life of battle good
And dear the land that gave you birth,
And clearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth

While none of us can find the words to adequately express to the Kennedy family the loss we so deeply feel, I would like to conclude with the words Abraham Lincoln expressed to a mother in Massachusetts who had lost two sons fighting for the Union:

I pray for that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Hon. Karl E. Mundt
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. President, seldom, if ever, has tragedy of such similarity struck at a single American family, in the manner so sadly repeated in the tragic shooting of Senator Robert Kennedy so soon

after the equally tragic and senseless assassination of his President brother, John F. Kennedy. These events give us all cause to ponder and reflect upon the tenor of our times and the inadequate security provisions for our public officials as we deeply mourn the loss of a friend and colleague.

As a member of the Senate committee which gave Bobby Kennedy this first job on Capitol Hill in 1953, I have watched his exciting and fast-moving public career with far more than usual interest. It was when Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin was chairman of our Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee, on which I then served as now, as ranking Republican member, that I first met Bobby Kennedy. Joe came to me one day with the suggestion that our subcommittee engage the services of then comparatively unknown, Bobby Kennedy, as an assistant counsel of our committee which at that time was comprised of four Republican and three Democratic Senators as follows: Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman; Karl E. Mundt, Everett Dirksen, Charles E. Potter, John L. McClellan, Henry M. Jackson, and Stuart Symington. After meeting Bobby and having a brief interview with him I thoroughly approved of Joe's suggestion.

With the exception of a few intermittent leaves of absence for travel or political activities, Bobby Kennedy served our committee until September 13, 1959, when he resigned to campaign for his brother in the presidential campaign ending in November of 1960. He served our committee well under both Republican and Democratic chairmen, as John McClellan reappointed him and made him chief counsel after he moved into the committee chairmanship. He dedicated his efforts primarily to anti-Communist activities and to the disclosure of organized crime and racketeering as related to organized labor.

Later, as Attorney General and as a Member of this body, Bobby Kennedy continued to display the same energy, dedication to duty and his points of view, and native abilities which carried him so high in the councils of his party and made him a national figure. Words have really never been built adequately to describe the shocking, senseless, and saddening murder of this young man so full of life, ambition, energy, and high purpose at the very crest of his career.

To have him cut down in the midst of the celebration of his greatest personal triumph in

the simultaneous primary victories he won that day in California and in my home State of South Dakota adds even more to the sorrow of this great tragedy. Mrs. Mundt joins me in extending our great sympathy to his wife, Ethel, to his family, and children, and to his parents who have already suffered more than their fair measure of sorrow and tragedy.

Hon. Joseph M. Montoya
OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, a bright sun shines, tree leaves are glowingly green, a new life stirs our old earth, and a surging, promising existence has come to an end. Robert F. Kennedy, Senator from the State of New York, has been struck down by the hand of an assassin, just as his great-hearted brother, President Kennedy, was. We again must bear the brunt of sorrow, disgrace, and shame before the entire world and all humanity.

Once more a grieving widow with children will follow a bier to a martyr's grave. Once more will the drums roll. Again, we shall hear the funeral music. Still again, an open grave will yawn to receive one of America's noblest souls.

Mr. President, my heart is sore within me for our country. Truly, we have lost one of our soaring spirits. A heart which bled for the oppressed and downtrodden. A man who felt so deeply for those society had no compassion for, that he placed himself in the forefront of their struggle to attain our American promise. For this he was struck down in midflight.

President Kennedy was assassinated toward the end of his term in the late fall. His brother was stricken down in the midst of this troubled but lushly beautiful spring. Death can mean many things to many people. To some, it is an end. To others, it is a beginning.

I choose to look upon it as a start for our country, rather than a finish. I choose to regard it as an impetus for the dreams Robert F. Kennedy had for this Republic. His existence, career in the national life of our country, and personal goals symbolize his belief in those dreams. It is my feeling that he embodied a significant portion of the noblest elements of the American ideal.

We must not allow his death to be separated from what he died for. His passing must serve this Republic as an affirmation rather than a denial of the rights of man and the reason for being of this Nation.

We were founded upon a belief in the dignity of the individual. Senator Kennedy reaffirmed this truth by his life and death. It is for this society, imperfect as it is, to echo this reaffirmation and make it real to those who look to us for hope and accomplishment.

I speak not of the world now. It is for the soul of this Nation that we must struggle. A death grapple looms ahead of us, perhaps immediately. A society has a spirit as surely as a man does. Robert Kennedy's spirit was in tune with that of all mankind.

He was a humanist among us—almost a Renaissance individual. His interests and ideas were generously wide. Although he could have secluded himself from his responsibilities to society, he did not. Like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, he turned his back upon a life devoid of social duty and plunged back into the turmoil of American life, determined to illustrate and purge the darkest corners of our land.

He held up a torch of intellectual illumination and social responsibility. A finger of accusation was directed at society, following it unerringly wherever it sought to elude that pointing finger. None of us could return to a life of comfort in our homes without being reminded by him that we owed it to ourselves, our society and beliefs to set right what we had suffered to go wrong around us.

Now his fight is done. But we can make real what his sacrifice has left undone. Let his torch of illumination and idealism be taken up by compassionate hands. Let us see him to his rest with sorrow and understanding. Then let us turn as one person to the unfinished work that remains.

Let us see to it that all Americans share fully in our dream. Let us search our individual consciences and act accordingly.

A nation looks to us. We have it within our power to act and do what must be done. In days to come and challenges that will present themselves face to face with us, let us act according to dictates of conscience and intellect rather than pettiness and partisanship.

Humanity and compassion transcend desire for personal glory and bitterness. The most fitting tribute to Senator Kennedy and thinking he represented will be this type of contribution.

But now we must grope for words. Yet they fail us. Let us then seek eloquence from our own rich past. Senator Kennedy loved poetry and used it often. There is a verse by one of America's noblest spirits that perhaps says better than we can what his death and life symbolize.

Walt Whitman said:

When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd, And the
great star early droop'd in the western sky in the night,
I mourn'd and yet shall mourn with ever-returning
spring.

And then he wrote a few words that perhaps best symbolize what Senator Kennedy left to us as a legacy:

No really great song can ever attain full purport till
long after the death of its singer—till it has accrued
and incorporated the many passions, many joys and sor-
rows, it has itself aroused.

Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. President, the fanatical shooting of Senator Kennedy is a sad, tragic, and dangerous commentary of our time. The loss of great moral values and sanity in the last one-third of the 20th century must be corrected at all levels and by all citizens.

I regret that medical science—which Senator Kennedy, and his late brother President Kennedy, did so much to bring to its present state of excellence—could not avoid this tragedy.

This senseless act of violence makes it clear to every American that it is in the public interest to provide protection to major candidates who are daily exposed to the hazards and risks of national political campaigns.

The great loss to the Nation and world in Senator Kennedy's death will be realized far more as time moves on and this tragic evidence of violence becomes history. His vigor and dedication and quality of leadership inevitably marked him to, at some time, succeed his brother as our Nation's Chief Executive.

My deepest sympathy is with his entire family on this third visitation of tragedy. The deaths

of all three sons were deaths in action for America's safety, future, and progress.

No words can truly express our shock at the tragic death of our colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

The Chair in his function as President of the Senate would like to make a very brief statement of respect and affection on the life and memory of our late, departed colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

This is a day of national sorrow and personal grief.

A valiant, brave, and good man, a gifted colleague to every Member of this body, and a personal friend of many, has been taken from us.

We have lost a great American, a man whose deep concern, compassion, conscience, and commitment have inspired all of us in this chamber—as well as millions of fellow Americans and countless other men and women throughout the world.

Mrs. Humphrey and I feel a sense of profound personal loss. Our hearts go out to Senator Kennedy's dear wife, Ethel, and her loving family of dear children. Also to the Kennedy family which has known tragedy beyond human endurance.

As has been said—and well said—Senator Robert F. Kennedy was an uncommon man, with uncommon faith in the ultimate worth of American democracy and its processes. He underwrote his faith with a life of vigorous action, and was taken from us by an irrational act of hatred while doing the most sacred work of a free man; namely, the work of public policy and public affairs.

It is now the obligation of all of us, in our sorrow and pain, to realize the society of human and individual justice which Senator Kennedy sought. For the high purposes to which we have dedicated our Nation cannot longer survive except in the reality of freedom and justice.

May our Nation find the strength, the faith, and the wisdom to dispel the forces of unreason and hate—of extremism and violence—from our midst. May it find a way to replace them with the love of man and the love of God.

May Divine Providence bring comfort to those who sorrow.

May Divine Providence forgive us our transgressions.

I wish to thank the Senate for indulging the Chair in this rather unusual procedure. It is one which I wanted very much to have the privilege of being given.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Javits will be stated by the clerk.

The resolution (S. Res. 301) was read, as follows:

S. RES. 301

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed to arrange for and attend the funeral of the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from the State of New York, on vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The resolution (S. Res. 301) was agreed to.

Hon. Jacob K. Javits
OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, in the years since Senator Kennedy first became my colleague, he became my friend, and I feel the loss which we have all suffered—which our country and the world have suffered—very deeply and very personally.

I feel, from many, many, many contacts and conversations with Senator Kennedy, that he, too, felt that there was an illness affecting us which drove people to violence as a substitute for reason and debate because they were impatient with these processes. And yet in his own life, he passionately believed in these processes. He became the magnet for tremendous, clamoring crowds because many people felt that his was the voice which could lead to action through reason.

I feel that he would want the tragedy of violence which caused him to pass from this world to be burned into the conscience of all of us in the United States, so that we may again repair with confidence to the constitutional processes in which he believed so very, very deeply. I feel that he would hope that all of those who, out of excess zealousness and other misguided attitudes, might think there are shorter cuts to action would have been appalled and dissuaded by this tragedy—a tragedy that snuffed out the life of one so gifted and vital and effective.

Senator Kennedy had a passion for the integrity and quality of our society and a passion for justice especially for the underprivileged, the oppressed, and the young. He carried this feeling out not only in New York but in the United States and all over the world, as witness his famous trip to the Union of South Africa.

This insistent dedication of his inspired us all. It had a profound impact upon me and all the rest of us with whom he served. It had, and will have, a profound impact on our time.

I sought out him particularly with regard to legislation on which we worked in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as well as in activities of a State character. For example, I joined him, as did Mayor Lindsay, as he carried out a particularly noble and worthwhile plan with respect to one of the most difficult slum areas in the United States, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Senator Kennedy's passion for these causes and his inspiration will live on, in my judgment, for many generations, for whom it will remain a guiding light.

I could not close, Mr. President, without expressing the profound personal loss and sadness which my wife and I feel, and our deep sympathy for Ethel Kennedy, for the children, for Ted Kennedy, another of our colleagues, and for the whole Kennedy family.

Hon. Mike Mansfield
OF MONTANA

Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, arrangements have been made or are being made for Senators on both sides of the aisle—and their wives, if they desire—to go to New York to attend the funeral services at St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10 o'clock Saturday morning. That transportation will be by air.

It is also contemplated that a railroad car will be set aside for Senators and their wives who may accompany them to join the Kennedy funeral cortege on the way from New York to Union Station in Washington.

Cars will be at Union Station for those who arrive by train and also for those who find themselves unable to go to New York. If Senators meet the train on its arrival or be at the Capitol steps, transportation will be furnished.

If there are any questions about the session today, earlier this morning I discussed the matter with several members of the Kennedy family. They felt that what we are doing today is what we should do. This is what Senator Robert Kennedy would have wanted done.

When we get through with our business today, we will adjourn out of respect for the memory of our late, highly respected, and beloved colleague, and we will not meet tomorrow as a further mark of respect to his memory. We will probably meet around 12 o'clock on Monday next.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the last paragraph of Senate Resolution 300.

The *Presiding Officer*. The last paragraph of Senate Resolution 300 will be read by the clerk.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until Monday, June 10, 1968.

Mr. President, pursuant to the language in the last resolving clause of Senate Resolution 300, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from New York, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 4 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 10, 1968, at 12 noon.

Hon. Mike Mansfield
OF MONTANA

Mr. President, the Vice President, the President of the Senate, and I, have received a number of communications from around the globe, from officials, and from private citizens as well, expressing their deep sorrow and profound regret at the passing of our respected and esteemed colleague, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I ask unanimous consent that these communications may be printed in the Record and referred to the appropriate committee.

STRASBOURG,
June 7, 1968.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

The tragedy which has struck your country is deeply felt in Europe. On behalf of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe I beg you to accept our deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

GEOFFREY DE FREITAS.

TOKYO,
July 7, 1968.

MR. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply shocked at the tragic news of the sudden and deplorable death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The demise of this great statesman is an immeasurable loss not only to your country but also to the whole world at this time of crucial importance. On behalf of the House of Councillors I wish to express my profound sentiments of condolence and sympathy to you, the bereaved family and the people of the United States.

YUZO SHIGEMUNE,
President of House of Councillors.

PRAHA,
June 6, 1968.

MR. HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate of the U.S.A.,
Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with deep emotion and indignation that the deputies of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic receive the news about the attempt on the life of Senator Robert Kennedy and his tragic death. Accept please on my behalf as well as on behalf of all deputies the assurance of our deepest sympathy and kindly present our sincerest condolence to the family of the deceased Senator.

JOSEPH SMRKOVSKY,
President of the National Assembly of
the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

ADDIS ABABA,
June 6, 1968.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Congress of U.S.A.,
Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.:

I wish to convey through you my heartfelt grief and condolence to the Senate of the United States of America over the untimely death of Senator Robert Kennedy who championed the cause of humanity in his short but fruitful life. Senator Kennedy's death is a loss not only to the United States of America but also to mankind at large.

KETEMA YIFRU,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia.

SAIGON,
June 7, 1968.

PRESIDENT,
Senate, Washington, D.C.:

President Commission Contre Corruption Chambre Legislative Vietnam profondement touche nouvelle assassinat Senateur Robert Kennedy. Presente a senat ainsi qua Madame Robert Kennedy et toute famille Kennedy respectueuses condoleances et souhaite tout coeur miracle operation chirurgicale sauvera Senateur Robert Kennedy pour usa ut monde libre.

Respects,

PHANHUYDUC.

TOKYO, JAPAN,
June 7, 1968.

MR. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

On receiving sad news of the sudden death of Senator Robert Kennedy, my sorrow knows no bound. I respectfully express my deep condolences. Please convey my profound sympathy to the bereaved family.

MITSUJIRO ISHII,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968.

THE VICE PRESIDENT,
*The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.:*

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The President of the German Bundestag has asked me to transmit to you in your capacity as President of the United States Senate the following message of condolence of the German Bundestag:

"Tiefbewegt spreche ich Ihnen, Herr, Präsident und dem Senat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika die aufdichtige Anteilnahme des Deutschen Bundestags aus zu dem überaus schmerzlichen und tragischen Verlust, den Sie und die Vereinigten Staaten durch den Tod von Senator Robert Kennedy erlitten haben. Der Deutsche Bundestag trauert mit Ihnen um eine grobe Hoffnung Ihres Landes. Er gedenkt in herzlicher Anteilnahme auch der zweifach schwer geprüften Familie Kennedy.

"Ihr aufrichtig ergebener,

"GERSTENMAIER,
"Präsident des Deutschen Bundestags."

The English translation reads as follows:

"Deeply moved, I express to you, Mr. President, and to the Senate of the United States of America, the sincere participation of the German Bundestag in the painful and tragic loss which you and the United States have suffered through the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. The German Bundestag is in mourning with you over a great hope of your country. It also is thinking with heartfelt sympathy of the again so severely tried Kennedy family.

"Very sincerely yours,

"GERSTENMAIER,
"President of the German Bundestag."
Respectfully yours,

H. KNAPPSTEIN.

BUCURESTI,
June 6, 1968.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

Deeply grieved at the news of the assassination of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy an outstanding member of the United States Senate and a remarkable figure of American political life. I convey my most sincere condolences as well as those of the members of the Grand National Assembly of The Socialist Republic of Romania. May I also request you to transmit to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and to the bereaved family the expression of our profound sympathy at this time of harsh trial.

STEFAN VOITEC,
*President of the Grand National Assembly of the
Socialist Republic of Romania.*

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 6, 1968.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*Vice President of the U.S.,
Washington, D.C.:*

Following upon my visit to the Senate yesterday, I received the sad news of Senator Robert F. Kennedy's death. On behalf of the Danish Government, I ask you to convey to the Senate the expression of my sincere condolences on this tragic occasion.

POUL HARTLING,
Foreign Minister of Denmark.

GRENADA,
June 6, 1968.

LEADER OF U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

Please convey to the United States Senate the sympathy of the Government and people of Grenada on the tragic loss of Senator Robert Kennedy.

PREMIER.

BRUXELS,
June 6, 1968.

MR. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
*Vice President,
Washington, D.C.:*

President, Members and Secretariat North Atlantic Assembly convey deepest sympathy on tragic death of Robert Kennedy.

DESHORMES,
Secretary General.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
June 6, 1968.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*Vice President,
Washington, D.C.:*

I learned with great shock of today's brutal attempt on Senator Robert F. Kennedy's life.

I hasten to express to your Excellency, in my name and in that of my fellow Senators my heart-felt sympathies.

Please accept, Excellency, my best wishes for Senator Kennedy's speediest recovery and return to his well-being.

IBRAHIM SEVKI ATASAGUN,
President of the Senate of the Turkish Republic.

ADDIS ABABA,
June 6, 1968.

Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington:

It is with great sorrow that we have learned the tragic news of the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. The untimely death of this distinguished and dynamic Member of the U.S. Senate will undoubtedly be a great loss to the United States and the World. We join you and the people of the United States in mourning this great loss.

HAILE SELASSIE,
Emperor.

LUXEMBOURG,
June 6, 1968.

Mr. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Capitol, Washington, D.C.:

Deeply affected by the dreadful news of the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy. I wish to convey to you and to the Senate of the United States of America my heartfelt condolences as well as those of the Parliament of Luxembourg.

ROMAIN FANDEL,
President of the Luxembourg Parliament.

PRAGUE,
June 6, 1968.

THE SENATE OF THE U.S.A.
Washington, D.C.:

The Czechoslovak Society for International Relations received the news about the tragic decease of the Senator Robert Kennedy with deep emotion. In his personality passed away a significant politician, one of the best sons of the American Nation. We are paying homage to his memory with deep reverence.

Professor Dr. JAROSLAV MARTINIC,
The President of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
June 6, 1968.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President,
Washington, D.C.:

I learned with great shock of today's hateful attempt on Senator Robert F. Kennedy's life.

I hasten to express to your excellency in my name and in that of my fellow Senators my heartfelt sympathies. Please accept excellency, my best wishes for Senator Kennedy's speediest recovery and return to his well-being.

IBRAHIM SEVKI ATASAGUN,
President of the Senate of the Turkish Republic.

PAKISTAN,
June 6, 1968.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President, Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Rudely shocked at dastardly assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy at prime of life. Kindly accept and convey to bereaved family heartfelt condolences on behalf of myself and members of National Assembly of Pakistan.

ABDUL JABBAR KHAN,
Speaker, National Assembly of Pakistan.

STOCKHOLM,
June 6, 1968.

Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Please accept my deepest condolences at the terrible loss of one of the Senate's most outstanding members.

ERIK BOHEMAN,
President of the Swedish Senate.

BELGRAD,
June 6, 1968.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply moved by the tragic news of the violent death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Please accept on behalf of the Federal Assembly and in my own name the expressions of our most sincere condolences. Please convey Mr. President to the family of the deceased, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy, the expressions of our heartfelt sympathies.

MILENTIJE POPOVIC,
President, Federal Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

CANADIAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States of America, President of the Senate of the United States, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I have been asked to convey the following message to you from the Hon. Sydney J. Smith, Speaker of the Senate of Canada:

"MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: On behalf of my colleagues of the Senate of Canada and as Co-Chairman of the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, I extend our deep sympathy at this time, through you to all members of your Senate and members of the family of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

"May we all dedicate our efforts to achieve the worthy purposes to which he devoted his life.

"Yours sincerely,

"SYDNEY J. SMITH,
"Speaker of the Senate of Canada."

Yours sincerely,

A. E. RITCHIE,
Ambassador.

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY

MANAGUANIC,
June 6, 1968.

Hon. Senor HUBERT HUMPHREY,
Presidente, Del Congreso,
Washington, D.C.:

Congreso Nacional de Nicaragua hace propio el universal dolor causado por el fallecimiento Del Honorable Senador Doctor Robert F. Kennedy y manifiesta por su medio a ese alto cuerpo sus sentimientos de pesar. Punto. Cordialmente suyo.

ORLANDO MONTENEGRO MEDRANO,
Presidente, Congreso
Nacional de Nicaragua.

[Spanish translation]

Hon. HUBERT [sic] HUMPHREY,
President of the Congress,
Washington, D.C.:

The National Congress of Nicaragua shares in the universal sorrow caused by the death of the Honorable Senator Doctor Robert F. Kennedy and expresses through you to this high body its feelings of sympathy. Stop. Cordially yours.

ORLANDO MONTENEGRO MEDRANO,
President, National Congress of Nicaragua.

[Russian translation]

Mr. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate and Vice President of the United States of America, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We wish to express our most sincere sympathy on the occasion of the villainous killing of the outstanding leader of the USA Robert F. Kennedy. The infamous crime to which Robert F. Kennedy fell victim arouses a feeling of indignation in the Soviet people.

I. SPIRIDONOV,
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
PALECKIS,
Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, U.S.S.R.
Moscow, June 6, 1968.

Moscow,
June 6, 1968.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Mr. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States of America, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Vyrajam Iskrennee Soboleznovanie Po Povodu Zlodeiskogo Ubiistva Vidnogo Deiatelia Ssha Senatora Roberta F. Kennedy. Gnusnoe Prestuplenie, Jertvoi Kotorogo Stal R. Kennedy, Vyzyvaet U Sovetskih Liudei Chuvstva Negodovania. Predsedatel Soveta Soiuza Verhovnogo Soveta USSR.

I. SPIRIDONOV,
PALECKIS,
Predsedatel Soveta Nazional Nostei Verhovnogo Soveta USSA.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 6, 1968.

Senator CARL HAYDEN,
President, pro tempore of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Please accept my sincere condolences on the tragic passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

VASCO LEITAO DA CUNHA,
Brazilian Ambassador.

SAIGON,
June 7, 1968.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate of the United States, Washington, D.C.:

Learned with great emotions death of Senator Robert Kennedy in the name of Senate Republic of Vietnam please accept our most sincere condolences.

NGUYENVANHUYEN,
President, Senate Republic of Vietnam.

June 8, 1968.

PRESIDENT OF U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

Central American Aeronautical Navigation Service Corp. extends deepest sympathy and regret in the loss of your colleague and our beloved friend Robert Kennedy. Please pass our condolences to his wonderful family.

LISANDRO ROSALES ABELLA,
General Manager, Cocosna.

[German translation]

Mr. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington:

To you and to the Members of the United States Senate I wish to express and also in the name of the members of the German Federal Council by heartfelt condolences in connection with the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. The human language is too poor to allow us to express what we are perceiving at the death of this outstanding politician. The horrid crime of Los Angeles has put an end to the life of a man on whose struggle for peace, justice, and freedom, innumerable men all over the world have set their hopes. The news of his death is inconceivable to me.

KLAUS SCHUETZ,
President of the German Federal Council.

BONN,
June 8, 1968.

Herin. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Praesidenten des Senats der Vereinigten Staaten Von Amerika, Washington, D.C.

Ihnen und den mitgliedern des Senats der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika spreche ich auch im namen der mitglieder des Deutschenbundesrates meine aufrichtige teilnahme zum tode Von Senator Robert Kennedy aus die col menschliche sprache erweist sich als ohnmaechtig das

auszudruecken was U S beim tode dieses hervorragenden politikers bewegt das abscheuliche verbrechen von Los Angeles hat dem leben einesmannes ein ende gesetzt auf dessen eintreten fuer frieden gerechtigkeit und freiheit sich die hoffnungen zahlloser menschen in aller welt grundeten die nachricht von seinem tode ist fuer mich unfassbar.

KLAUS SCHUETZ,
Praesident des, Deutschen Bundesrates.

[Spanish translation]

PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

In the name of the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela I express to you and through your worthy instrumentality to the Senate and people of the United States our most profound condolences at the death of the Honorable Senator Kennedy. The Congress of Venezuela condemns the crime whose victim is the Honorable Senator Kennedy, leader in the fight against racial discrimination and champion of peace and understanding among all people.

ARMANDO VEGAS,
President, Congress of Venezuela.

CARACAS,
June 6, 1968.

PRESIDENTE,
Senado Estados Unidos,
Washington, D.C.:

A nombre Congreso Republica de Venezuela expreso a usted y por su digno organo al Senado y Pueblo de Estados Unidos nuestro profundo pesar por sentida muerte del Honorable Senador Kennedy punto el Congreso de Venezuela condena el atentado de que ha sido victima el Honorable Senador Kennedy lider de la lucha contra la discriminacion racial y combatiente por la paz y comprension entre los pueblos punto.

ARMANDO VEGAS,
Presidente, Congreso de Venezuela.

[Spanish translation]

PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply terrified by the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, illustrious citizen who had been admired by all socially sensible men all over the world and especially in Latin America. We address our prayers to the Lord for his eternal rest and we share the sorrows of his wife, parents, children, brothers and sisters and citizens of the country.

PANAMENIAN ASSOCIATION OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES.

PANAMA,
June 6, 1968.

PRESIDENTE,
Del Senado de Los,
Washington, D.C.:

Profundamente consternados tragico fallecimiento Senator Robert F. Kennedy illustre ciudadano admirado

por los hombres de sensibilidad social del mundo y especialmente America Latina elevamos nuestras plegarias al Senor por su eterno descanso y acompanamos en su dolor a su esposa padres hijos hermonaos.

FAMILIARES Y CIUDADANOS,
De ese Pais Asociacion Panamena de Ejecutivos de Empresa.

[Translation, German]

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate, Vice President of the United States of America, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

The Austrian federal government has received with consternation the painful news of the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy who perished under such tragic circumstances. This so early broken life makes us suddenly realize to what extent his advocating the high aims of humanity, of peace, freedom and justice has taken possession of our thinking and feelings. In this deep sorrow that so hard befell the American Senate and the whole American Nation, I ask you, Mr. Vice President, to be assured of the deep sympathy of the federal government and of the Austrian people.

JOSEF KLAUS,
Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria.

June 6, 1968.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Praesident des Senats, Vizepraesident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

Die Oesterreichische Bundesregierung hat die schmerzliche Nachricht vom Tode des Senators Robert F. Kennedy der unter so tragischen Umstaenden verschieden ist mit Bestuerzung vernommen. Im Angesicht dieses frueh gebrochenen Lebens wird uns ploetzlich bewusst in welchem Masse sein Eintreten fuer die hohen Ziele der Menschlichkeit, des Friedens, der Freiheit und der Gerechtigkeit von unserem Denken und Fuehlen Besitz ergriffen hatte. In dem schweren Leid das den amerikanischen Senat und die ganze amerikanische Nation so hart getroffen hat, bitte ich Sie, Herr Vizepraesident, an das tiefe Mitgefuehl der Bundesregierung und des oesterreichischen Volkes zu glauben.

JOSEPH KLAUS,
Bundeskanzler der Republik Oesterreich.

MEXICO, *June 7, 1968.*

Senor Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Office of the Majority Leader,
Washington, D.C.:

Profundamente conmovidos por el deceso del senor Senador Robert F. Kennedy el senado de la Republica Mexicana le manifiesta su hondo pesar por este infausto acontecimiento y le suplica recibir el testimonio de su condolencia mas sincera por la perdida de tan distinguido representante del pueblo norteamericano.

Senador MANUEL BERNARDO AGUIRRE,
Presidente, de la Gran Comision.

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY

BRUSSELS.

MIKE MANSFIELD,
Majority Leader,
Senate House,
Washington, D.C.:

The great loss caused to the United Senate by the appalling death of Senator Robert Kennedy is shared by parliamentarians the world over. My deepest sympathy and my thoughts are with you the American people and the bereaved Kennedy family.

VICTOR BODSON,
President, Association Internationale des Parle-
mentaires de Langue Francaise.

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 6, 1968.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
Majority Leader,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

With the greatest concern and astonishment I received the news of the attempt against the life of Senator Kennedy. All my prayers went to the Almighty for his full recovery. The fatal outcome has filled me with the deepest of sorrows. The tragic death of Robert F. Kennedy constitutes an irretrievable loss for this great Nation and for those of us throughout the world who love democracy. I also feel that the violent passing of such an outstanding public figure is a most despicable attack against democracy.

JULIO A. RIVERA,
Ambassador of El Salvador.

RIO DE JANEIRO,
June 5, 1968.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Astonished brutality attempt against Senator Robert Kennedy please accept expression my grief with best wishes fast recovery great Democratic leader.

SENATOR VICTORINO FREIRE,
Brazilian Senate.

ECHEGARAY, MEXICO,
June 8, 1968.

MIKE MANSFIELD,
Senado de los Esados,
Unidos de America,
Washington, D.C.:

Personalmente me uno al sentir del pueblo Americano por la lamentable tragedia que sinceramente lamento y condeno.

LEOPOLDO REYNA.

PARIS,
June 6, 1968.

MEMBERS DU SENAT,
Des Etatsunis Palais,
du Capitole,
Washington, D.C.:

Au nom du senat de la republique francaise qui unit

dans le meme respect la memoire de John et de Robert Kennedy je exprime au senat des etatsunis da merique notre douloureuse emotion et notre profonde sympathie.
PRESIDENT SENATE.

GENOVA,
June 6, 1968.

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:
Sentite condoglianze.

AMICI NAVAL REGISTRO,
Italiano.

TOKYO,
June 8, 1968.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply dismayed by unfortunate incident involving Senator Robert Kennedy. We are with you in prayers for his recovery and for your country.

TOKUSABURO KOSAKA.

MEXICO CITY, MEX.

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Wishing the best for you, for Kennedy and for your country.

CARMEN T. MORENO SANCHEZ.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
June 8, 1968.

MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Deepest sympathy for the loss of the great Senator Robert Kennedy. He died for the ideas which we believe and fight for.

DENNIS GIANNAKES,
International President,
the Greek Society.

GREAT FALLS, MONT.,
June 6, 1968.

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senator, Montana,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: The city of Great Falls has extended our sympathy and condolences to the Kennedy family through a telegram to their home in Hyannis Port. We would also appreciate your conveying our personal messages of sympathy to any of the family or relatives with whom you come in personal contact. We are flying the flag at half mast over the Civic Center from 8 o'clock this Thursday morning until after the funeral.

Sincerely,

JOHN J. McLAUGHLIN,
Mayor, City of Great Falls, Mont.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,
June 8, 1968.

MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.:

Condolences to the Senate on the loss of Senator Robert Kennedy.

Mrs. FELICIA ELEANOR ALPERT.

TWO DOT, MONT.,
June 6, 1968.

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

With deep grief we unite with you over the loss of a great American. May his ideals live on.

With love,

MARY and PETE WHITE.

Hon. Lister Hill OF ALABAMA

Mr. President, I rise to speak in sorrow for the second time in less than 5 years of the death of a member of the Kennedy family. On December 11, 1963, the Senate dedicated a day in memory of John F. Kennedy, murdered in the month before. Today, we speak of another Kennedy, foully slain as was his brother before him:

On Horror's head, horrors accumulate.

Again the Nation and the world stand with bowed heads in mourning the loss of a gallant American. Again, a whole people are shocked over another cruel and senseless act of violence.

May I say that on Thursday of last week from the top of the capitol of my State of Alabama in Montgomery, the Confederate flag flew at half mast for Senator Robert Kennedy, and Gov. Albert Brewer spoke these words:

It would be my prayer that this shocking event will precipitate a return to what has been absent from this Nation for much too long—a true respect for law and order and an end to senseless violence.

Mr. President, it was as chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, on which Robert Kennedy served since he entered the Senate in January 1965, that I had occasion to work with him day by day and to best come to know him and admire him.

It is worth noting, Mr. President, that never before in our history has one family sent three of its sons to the U.S. Senate: John, Robert, and Edward Kennedy. All three have served on the

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; all three during the time I have been privileged to be the committee's chairman; all three helping make major contributions to our country's welfare. These three brothers eagerly sought membership on the committee because it afforded them the greatest possible opportunity to search out and help enact solutions to the most pressing human problems of our time—the physical and mental health of our people; the education of our children and youth; the elimination of poverty and human misery in the cities and on the farms; rehabilitation of the handicapped; juvenile delinquency; protection of our elderly citizens; improvement of the wages and working conditions of the people employed in commerce, industry, and agriculture; fair and equitable relations between labor and management, the health, education, and adjustment to civil life of veterans of our Armed Forces, and many similar social and human problems.

During his 8 years as a Senator, John Kennedy served with grace and distinction as a member of the committee, rising to become chairman of its Subcommittee on Labor.

Edward Kennedy has served on the committee for the past 6 years and has become chairman of its Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs.

Robert Kennedy, as I have said, came to the committee immediately upon his entering the Senate 3½ years ago.

Robert Kennedy was one of the most active and diligent members of our Labor and Public Welfare Committee. He sought to shoulder the greatest possible load of responsibilities that a junior member could undertake. He was a member of five of the seven standing subcommittees: Education, Labor, Veterans' Affairs, Migratory Labor, and Employment, Manpower, and Poverty. In addition, beginning in September of last year, he became chairman of our Special Subcommittee on Indian Education in which he showed intense interest and passionate concern. Although he was not a member of the Subcommittee on Health, of which I am chairman, he always strongly supported any and all legislation designed to protect and improve the health of our people.

While, at times, I found myself in disagreement with some of his proposals and positions, I could not and did not ignore the fact that he

was motivated by a deep conviction that the goals he pursued were for the best interests of the Nation. He was a sincere and eloquent advocate of the causes he favored. He was genuinely moved by the evidences of misery, disease, and misfortune he observed in his extensive travels in connection with committee work. He took his membership on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and his duties thereon with utmost seriousness.

Last year, the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, of which he was a most active member, conducted an extensive survey of poverty, hunger, and malnutrition in America. With the subcommittee he traveled thousands of miles from the slums of Harlem to the Watts section of Los Angeles and the fruit fields of central California; from the Mississippi Delta to northern Wisconsin; from Appalachia to the South Side of Chicago. In all his travels, in all his subcommittee work, he was always an assiduous and devoted participant. He did his best, despite the many other duties pressed upon him as a Senator representing the great State of New York, to attend every committee hearing and every executive session. His keen intellect, the absorptive power of his mind, the retentive grasp of his memory, coupled with his extraordinary energy, drive, and zest, made him in a short time one of the best informed and knowledgeable experts among us on the vast range of public questions with which our committee is concerned.

One of his principal contributions in the effort to reduce the toll of human poverty was his amendment creating the special impact program, which established economic and business development programs in heavily populated low-income urban areas, to create job opportunities and training programs for the underemployed and the unemployed.

As a member of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, he was a powerful ally of the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Yarborough) in our successful struggle to establish a GI program for veterans of the cold war period.

On the Subcommittee on Education he worked hard and long beside the able Senator from Oregon (Mr. Morse) in broadening and improving Federal assistance to our Nation's schools and colleges and to the young people who attend them.

As a member of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, he was a strong right arm to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Williams) in helping bring about decent health, education, and living conditions for hundreds of thousands of migrant workers and their families.

On the Subcommittee on Labor, he staunchly supported the efforts of the late Senator McNamara of Michigan and his successor as chairman of that subcommittee, Senator Yarborough, in bringing about major changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act, raising the minimum wage, and extending the act's protection to millions of additional workers.

Not only did he become expertly informed on all the great social problems we face, not only did he seek always to translate this knowledge into effective legislative responses, Senator Robert Kennedy likewise became a movingly expressive spokesman of the needs and aspirations of the disadvantaged, the poor, the sick, and the ill-nourished members of society.

As Solomon the Wise said:

The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there no torment shall touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die; and their going from us to be utter destruction: but they are in peace.

As we unite in prayer that the soul of Robert Kennedy may rest in peace, let us unite in determination to bring peace to the souls of those who live on.

In closing, Mr. President, may I extend to Robert Kennedy's beloved wife, Ethel, and her bereaved children, his brother, Edward, and the other members of the Kennedy family, Mrs. Hill's and my deepest sympathy in this hour of sorrow.

Hon. Joseph D. Tydings
OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate and commend the distinguished statesman from the State of Alabama for his moving and eloquent remarks about our late beloved colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I know the very high esteem and affection which Senator Robert F. Kennedy felt for the distinguished Senator from Alabama—the same

high esteem and affection which we all feel for him.

The Senator's remarks have been so well articulated that I am reminded of the wonderful passage Senator Robert F. Kennedy quoted from Shakespeare in describing his late, beloved brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the convention in Atlantic City.

Let me recite those lines again because they are so moving:

. . . and, when he shall die
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Hon. Albert Gore

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. President, I wish to express my personal appreciation for the eloquent remarks which the distinguished chairman of the committee, on which the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy served, has given in tribute to his life and service.

With the noble sentiments which the Senator has expressed, I wish fully to associate myself.

Hon. Thomas J. Dodd

OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, I join the great Senator from Alabama in his tribute to Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Last week, I tried to say how I felt about Robert F. Kennedy. The tribute of the Senator from Alabama this morning is a most eloquent and fitting one, with which I wish to be associated.

Hon. Lee Metcalf

OF MONTANA

Mr. President, the Senator from Alabama has listed the record of accomplishment on the Committee on Labor and Welfare—attendance and diligent attention to routine committee activities not only of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and our late President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, but also of Senator Edward Kennedy. It

shows that these three brothers have contributed to the welfare, the health, and the education of this country. Their compassionate natures have developed many programs of assistance to aid the less fortunate people of America.

The Senator from Alabama has made a significant contribution to the eulogies of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. He has demonstrated that as a Senator in this body, Robert Kennedy's contributions have been significant and important to the welfare of the United States.

Hon. Mike Mansfield

OF MONTANA

Mr. President, I join my colleagues in expressing my deep appreciation for the most significant speech delivered by the distinguished Senator from Alabama relative to the brothers Kennedy—all three of whom have served so ably under his chairmanship, one of whom still with us and who will be with us for many decades to come, I am sure—is still serving.

The Senator from Alabama has had the experience of having eagles with him on the committee in the persons of John Fitzgerald and Robert Francis—men who soared high, who tried to achieve objectives which would benefit all of us, in all sections of the country, in all segments of society; men whose contributions will be long remembered not so much because their names happened to have been Kennedy but because of what they did, what they attempted to do, and what they stood for.

Hon. Joseph D. Tydings

OF MARYLAND

Mr. President, in the Washington Post of yesterday, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., an outstanding historian, a close personal friend of our late President John F. Kennedy, a close personal friend of our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, wrote what I feel is a very accurate, definitive essay entitled "Kennedy's Stature More Than Legacy."

I ask unanimous consent that this tribute to Senator Robert Kennedy be printed in its entirety in the Record.

[From the Washington Post, June 9, 1968]

KENNEDY'S STATURE MORE THAN LEGACY

(By Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.)

No one ever forgot, of course, that Robert Kennedy was the brother of a President of the United States, and some accused him of running for the Presidency on his brother's coattails. Yet Robert Kennedy had not only an identity but a record of his own—an identity and a record which would have entitled him to consideration for the Presidency had none of his relatives even been elected to anything higher than city assemblymen.

This record began in a serious sense when, amid almost total skepticism on Capitol Hill and among the press, John Kennedy appointed Robert Kennedy his Attorney General. Skepticism was understandable. Robert Kennedy was hardly 35. His legal experience had been limited to service as counsel for senatorial committees, and there his role had been one of a zealous—many thought overzealous—prosecutor.

His chief fame then was as the manager of his brother's campaign. His designation as the Nation's chief law-enforcement officer seemed an act of dynastic indulgence. Why not, someone said, make him Postmaster General, like Jim Farley?

But Robert Kennedy was a good deal more than a party manager. His brother valued his intelligence and judgment and wanted him by his side. They had thought for a moment of a deputy or assistant secretaryship—perhaps in Defense or in Latin American affairs at State—but their father had pointed out this would put the official who stood between the brother and the President in an impossible position.

So the President-elect decided to go ahead with the Attorney Generalship. He later told Ben Bradlee how he planned to announce the appointment: "I think I'll open the front door of the Georgetown house some morning about 2 a.m., look up and down the street and, if there's no one there, I'll whisper 'It's Bobby'."

When the moment finally came, and the brothers started out the door to face the press, he said, "Damn it, Bobby, comb your hair." We were still saying that 7½ years later.

THE RACIAL CRISIS

As Attorney General, Kennedy was plunged into the heart of the racial crisis. He came to this crisis with strong general sympathies but without much specific background, and he learned very quickly. He learned above all of the determination of his black fellow citizens to achieve their rights. He believed in the justice of their cause and respected their courage, and his own exceptional feeling for the excluded groups, his curious sense of identification with the casualties and victims of American society, gave him the power to command the confidence of those who had no one to trust.

He called out the troops to put James Meredith into the University of Mississippi. He managed the passage of sweeping civil rights legislation. And his concern extended to the poor in general, especially through his Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, which originated many of the ideas and programs later carried forward in the war against poverty.

His relationship to his brother, moreover, meant his involvement in a far wider range of public questions than any other Attorney General in our history. He did not take part in the meetings which preceded the Bay of Pigs, but thereafter President Kennedy took no crucial decision in foreign policy without making sure that Robert Kennedy was there.

Next to the President Robert Kennedy played the most important role in the peaceful resolution of the Cuban missile crisis. At the start, he led the opposition to the proposal that we take out the missile bases by surprise air attack and, at the end, when two messages of different import arrived from Khrushchev, he conceived the idea of ignoring the second and harsher message and responding to the more reasonable negotiating terms set forth in the first.

NERVE CENTER OF NEW FRONTIER

Beyond all this, Robert Kennedy was, in effect, the nerve center of the New Frontier. Every New Frontiersman, chopping his way through the thickets of Government, tended to turn to Robert Kennedy when he encountered obstacles and frustrations. The Attorney General had a sort of roving mandate through the Government, and he used it with discretion and imagination to reinforce liberal ideas and initiatives on matters from the release of Junius Scales to our policy in Africa, Latin America, and Indonesia.

There was a tendency to feel that Robert Kennedy as a Senator was more liberal than he had been as Attorney General and to attribute this to his New York constituency. This was not so. The effect of Dallas was not to transform his convictions but to give them a new dimension and quality. His brother's murder intensified his own sense of the awful fortuity of life.

He now inclined more than ever toward that fatalism which saw human existence in terms of a tragic destiny but did not relieve man from his obligation to strive as best he could for the right. He found comfort in Aeschylus and also in Camus, and he evolved for himself a personal faith, a kind of Catholic stoicism and existentialism.

Elective politics also developed latent qualities in what had been a somewhat abstracted and diffident man. He became, for example, an excellent speaker, and he was at his best when he went among the poor and the helpless, whether in hospitals or Indian reservations, in hovels along the Mississippi delta or in the teeming ghettos of New York or Los Angeles. These years strengthened his sense of identification with the untouchables of American society. He made himself in the Senate the particular champion of those who in the past had been the constituents of no one. He was the representative of the unrepresented.

MOST PROMISING LEADER

This made the fashionable complaint of 1968 that he was a divisive figure so irrelevant. No doubt he was divisive in the country clubs and the manufacturers' associations. But in the context of the great and terrible divisions of American society—affluent America vs. destitute America, white America vs. black America—he was the most

unifying figure in our politics. No one else offered such a possibility of a bridge between the alienated groups and the official American community.

He continued his fight, of course, for restraint and rationality in foreign affairs, and he spoke out against military escalation in Vietnam as early as the spring of 1965—long before any other of the current presidential aspirants.

It was an intense sorrow for him that his hesitation in entering the presidential competition of 1968 lost him the support of so many among the young and in the intellectual community; these he regarded as his natural constituency. But I have no doubt that after California and South Dakota he could have been well on his way to regaining their confidence and backing.

He was a brilliant and devoted man, superbly equipped by intelligence, judgment and passion for the great tasks of national leadership. He was, indeed, better prepared for the Presidency than his brother had been in 1960. His experience had been wider, and he had been exposed to more of the terrible problems of his own country and the world. He was, I deeply believe, our Nation's most promising leader.

In his private relations, he was a man of exceptional gentleness and generosity—the best of husbands and fathers, the dearest of friends. He was, in addition, a man of the most irresistible and rueful wit. I spent Thursday, May 30, with him as he whistled through the Central Valley of California. What lingers in memory are the faces of the crowd, worn and tired faces, weathered in the sun, lighting into a kind of happy hope as he appeared on the back of platform of the train and launched into that characteristic combination of banter and intensity with which he beguiled and exhorted his audiences.

He went through this all with his sense of fatality. Perhaps no one would have been less surprised than Robert Kennedy himself by the tragic conclusion of his life. He was vividly aware of the interior tensions of American society; that is why he mingled his attack on social and racial injustice with insistence on the defense of the peaceful processes of change. He loved his fellow citizens and was prepared to trust himself to them, and the quality of his love was such that it would surely have survived the depraved and terrifying act that destroyed him.

Just two months earlier, he had stood at dusk on a street corner in Indianapolis, his voice breaking with emotion, telling a black audience that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had been murdered. He said, "In this difficult time for the United States, it is perhaps well to ask what kind of a nation we are." Black people, he said, might understandably be "filled with bitterness, with hatred, and a desire for revenge." We can move in that direction as a country, he said. "Or we can make an effort, as Martin Luther King did, to understand and to comprehend, and to replace that violence that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand with compassion and love."

That stain of bloodshed is now deeper than ever. With the murder of Robert F. Kennedy, following on the murder of John Kennedy and the murder of Martin Luther King, we have killed the three great embodiments of our national idealism in this generation. Each murder has brought us one stage further in the down-

ward spiral of moral degradation and social disintegration. "What we need in the United States," Robert Kennedy said that sad spring evening in Indianapolis, "is not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country."

Hon. Mike Mansfield OF MONTANA

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a commencement address which I delivered at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., on Saturday last, be incorporated in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks. I made the speech between attending the funeral of our late beloved and distinguished colleague Robert Kennedy at St. Patrick's Cathedral and returning to Washington for the culmination of the events of that tragic week.

A TIME OF VIOLENCE—A TIME OF TRAGEDY

(Commencement address by Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat, of Montana, delivered at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., June 8, 1968)

I shall be brief because the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has made all words inadequate. The remarks which I had intended to make to you are prefixed now with a deepening of the concern which I have long felt with respect to the Nation's direction. The tragedy in Los Angeles has added another dimension to our urgent national difficulties.

These are, indeed, times which try men's souls. I grieve for Senator Kennedy and his family. I grieve even more for my country.

There is something wrong, very wrong, when the attempt of reason and understanding to cope with grave national problems is ripped apart time and again by the bullets of irrationality and hatred. Senator Kennedy was among the most civilized and sensitive of political leaders and one of the Nation's most thoughtful. His death lights up the threat to the very survival of freedom which is posed by this orgy of political violence. It has already brought down political and social and other leaders of the quality of President Kennedy, Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr., two young Marine lieutenants in Washington, D.C., this week, one of them from my State of Montana, and now Senator Robert F. Kennedy. These are rare men. As a nation, we could not afford the untimely loss of any of these men. We can afford no more.

This epidemic of horror, this pathology of political and social violence strikes at the very heart of the American structure—we will either put an end to it or it will put an end to American freedom.

I look to you young people of today in the hope of glimpsing a better tomorrow for America. It may be that you will be able to make that decisive contribution which will turn the crises of today into the resolved problems of yesterday.

This is your commencement. In a larger sense, however, it must also be seen as a time of commencement for the Nation. We live, today, in a nation torn apart by old tensions and in a world strained by new. There are difficulties abroad, serious difficulties. There are, clearly, even more serious difficulties at home. I refer not only to the assassinations of American public figures and others, but to the whole range of problems which afflict the Nation.

You who graduate, today, have lived without surcease from critical national and international problems. Crisis is your dubious birthright. You were born almost at the same time as the birth of nuclear power. Abroad, you have grown up with an accumulation of national commitments which stretch around the world. Most of these commitments were undertaken before your time. More often than not, however, the bills are falling due in your time. Vietnam is such a commitment.

At home, you inherit the massive accumulation of physical and human neglect which has led to the current conditions in the Nation's cities. It is a measure of the Nation's plight that we have tended to ignore these domestic volcanoes until an outburst of violence comes as a shocking reminder of their smoldering presence. It ought not to be necessary to wait for an assassination to focus realistically and with determination on these problems which Senator Kennedy and others have long insisted ought to be faced as a matter of extreme urgency.

Vietnam is still there. So, too, are a dozen or more other focal points of trouble in this Nation. Indeed, international conflict and domestic strife seem to have joined together under the common symbol of the bullet and the gutted city.

So I reiterate, your time of commencement must also be a time of commencement for the Nation. If the tragic event in Los Angeles a short time ago, plus the accumulated tragedies of the past few years are to have any meaning, we will begin, now, to convert the difficulties of today into the solutions of tomorrow.

In this process of conversion, the contribution of young people is indispensable. It was not by accident that Robert F. Kennedy turned to young people. It was not by accident that young people turned to him. Rather, I believe it was because the attitudes of young people reflect a perspective of the contemporary world and times which is much sharper and yet more flexible than that exhibited by those of us who have borne adult witness to the events of the past two decades. And by the same token, young people saw in Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy a source of inspiration and leadership in coming to grips with the world of today and tomorrow.

That the questions which young people are asking sometimes show a disdain for conventional and entrenched approaches to our national problems is not surprising. It in no way alters the importance, indeed, the necessity of trying to find the answers. That, indeed, was what Robert F. Kennedy was seeking to do.

If you who are young tend to look at the long-accepted and dogmatic descriptions of the world scene with a degree of healthy pragmatism, it is perhaps because you are not bound by the furies, fixations, and fears of the past 20 years. It may be, and I hope it is, that your thought processes are still flexible enough to permit you

to perceive an obvious need for adjustments in the policies of this Government in the light of the way Yugoslavia, Albania, not to mention China and Vietnam and most recently Rumania and Czechoslovakia, have undercut the old theory of a Russian Communist monolith.

Whatever the reasons, it seems to me that you know enough to insist upon more than patent-medicine responses to the problems of international life in these closing decades of the 20th century. You know enough, too, to insist that this Government assume a direct responsibility in the face of unrest and violence at home with at least as great a determination as it has sometimes displayed in taking on responsibilities for the curbing of unrest and violence abroad. In short, what your questions add up to is a call for a continuing appraisal of the premises of our foreign policies particularly in the light of changes abroad and urgent needs at home. To a considerable degree Senator Kennedy succeeded in setting in motion that kind of appraisal in his all too brief years in the Senate and in these past few weeks as a candidate for the Presidency. He knew, as I believe all of us sense, that there is an intimate association between the achievement of peace abroad and the realization of peace at home.

It is not at all certain that the negotiations at Paris will end the Vietnamese conflict in the near future. Indeed, the pace at which those negotiations have proceeded to date provides no basis for sanguine expectations. Nevertheless, Paris remains, and I feel must remain, the hope for a peaceful settlement. The President and his negotiators should receive every possible support from the rest of us in their current effort to bring about that settlement.

Let me close these remarks on the same note with which I opened them. This commencement finds the Nation entering upon a time of testing. Our difficulties are underscored, personified, and emphasized by the tragic death of Senator Kennedy. We must face up to the question of violence within the Nation. We must face up to the threat which it poses to an orderly, peaceful, and free political structure in this Nation.

To deal with this difficulty and others which plague us at home and abroad involves material resources. Far more than material resources, however, the very survival of the Nation, I believe, cries out for the resolve and the ingenuity, the wit and the integrity to face firmly the situation which confronts us. It requires us to look long and hard at the bitter experiences of these past few years. It compels us to search in the unspeakable and barbaric tragedy of Vietnam, in the assassinations of American leaders, and amidst the burnt-out cities of the Nation, for clearer definitions of the evolving problems of our times and to develop new approaches and new policies which look to their solution.

In that pursuit the participation of the young people of this Nation is essential. I ask you to join your fresh courage, your fresh conviction, your fresh concern, and your fresh outlook to the longer experience of the rest of us. Together, we can repair the weaknesses in the Nation's society and mend the fences that have broken down. Together, we can cut out the dry rot in our policies, both foreign and domestic. Together, we can build anew the inner structure and the inner peace of this Nation. Together, we can act to shape a new society in a new

world. Far more than words of eulogy, a dedication of heart and mind to that purpose would be a fitting tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Will you give it?

Hon. Clinton P. Anderson OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to our departed colleague, Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

Words cannot adequately express the sympathy which I feel for the Kennedy family during this hour of further tragedy in their lives. They have suffered far more than their share of sorrow.

The events surrounding the funeral, which we have all observed these past days, have once again been a witness to the courage and faith which these noble people possess. The Nation has been inspired by their magnificent strength. The love and solidarity displayed by the family is a testimony and an example of the highest ideals of mankind.

I add my name to those who express that this act of tragedy does not represent a diseased society. One man alone pulled the trigger. The rest of the Nation mourns the senselessness of the deed.

With all of the sorrow in the life of Robert F. Kennedy, his faith in democracy never wavered. In February of 1966 he stated:

* * * Democracy is no easy form of government. Few nations have been able to sustain it. For it requires that we take the chances of freedom, that the liberating play of reason be brought to bear on events filled with passion; that dissent be allowed to make its appeal for acceptance; that men chance even in their search for truth.

Senator Robert Kennedy dared take the chance of freedom. He will best be remembered for his inspiration to youth and for his valiant stands against poverty and oppression and war. His dedication and vitality were examples to us all.

We are deeply touched by his loss. But we are bettered by having known him. His contribution to the Nation can well be summarized by a challenge he issued to himself in a speech delivered in June of 1961:

My faith is that Americans are not an inert people. My conviction is that we are rising as a people to confront the hard challenges of our age—and that we know that the hardest challenges are often those within ourselves. My confidence is that, as we strive constantly to

meet the exacting standard of our national tradition, we will liberate a moral energy within our Nation which will transform America's role and America's influence throughout the world—and that upon this release of energy depends the world's hope for peace, freedom, and justice everywhere.

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson OF WASHINGTON

Mr. President, the Nation passed a weekend of grief which, like a black, ominous cloud has descended over men of good will everywhere and yet on this Monday, when we must try to pick up the pieces and carry on our business which must go on, the deep and foreboding sense of loss will not be dissipated. Mr. President, we have lost one of our own; we have lost a colleague of unusual ability and extraordinary perception, a most uncommon Senator and American. Our sense of loss is great. The Senate of the United States will not be the same without the junior Senator from New York. We will miss his quiet wit, his perceptive mind, and his genuine concern with the problems of America. But ours, of course, is not the only loss. We have lost a friend, a colleague, a fellow legislator, but our loss will never match the unspeakable tragedy which must be borne silently by the Kennedy family.

The great American family which has contributed an unmatched heritage of service to this land of ours, a family that has given our Nation a President, a wartime hero, an Ambassador, and two U.S. Senators. The grief of that family must certainly be without parallel in American history. It is unspeakably outrageous that two great American men, men who were in the prime of their lives and whose service to the Nation was in mid-course, have been brutally murdered. It is outrageous that the wives were suddenly widowed and that their children have only the memories of a father, and that for them in a very personal sense, life will never again be as rich.

But, Mr. President, may I suggest that the American people, too, have suffered an immeasurable loss. They have lost a great and courageous national leader. Perhaps most important, they have lost the man who embodied our Nation's struggle with ignorance, intolerance, injustice, and deprivation. They have lost a man who was vitally committed to guaranteeing to all Americans the great ideals on which this Nation was

founded. They have lost a man who was concerned with meeting the plight of the poor and the ignorant and the disadvantaged. A man who was alarmed that in a nation of unprecedented prosperity and economic growth, men, women, and children are still hungry, homeless, jobless. They have lost a man who was outraged by the prejudice and injustice which befalls our fellow Americans simply because their skin happens to be black. And they have lost a leader who had a vision of American cities as exciting, cosmopolitan, amenable places in which all could live in decency, prosperity, and justice. In short, Mr. President, our Nation has lost a man who had a vision of a better future and the political and moral courage to fight for a better America.

And let us not forget too that the loss of Senator Kennedy is particularly keenly felt by America's young. Those men and women who will assume the burden of leading our Nation tomorrow. Senator Kennedy did offer a new voice. To many, he was the hope of a better future. Mr. President, although Senator Kennedy is gone, his memory, and his aspirations for America will live on in this Chamber. He was a good man and a great American and we would all do well to seek to pick up the burden for the future which he carried so gracefully. May God let him rest in peace.

Hon. J. W. Fulbright OF ARKANSAS

Mr. President, I share the shock and sorrow of all Senators and of the Nation at the tragic loss of our colleague, Senator Robert Kennedy. My deepest sympathy goes to Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and to all the Kennedy family, a family that has given so much and lost so much.

Once again we find ourselves mourning the loss of one of our most able leaders through a barbarous, senseless act. Once again violence has torn at our society.

Senator Robert Kennedy was one who exhibited a consistent and profound concern about the serious problems facing our Nation. He was a man of intelligence and courage, who believed in America and was totally committed to the service of the Nation.

We must stop the violence and heal the divisions in our society. We must dedicate our efforts

to meeting the urgent social needs of this country. Senator Robert Kennedy recognized the seriousness of the foreign and domestic problems which we face, and, as a man of action, dedicated himself to their resolution.

I earnestly hope that the memory of our fallen colleague and the example of service rendered by him will serve as an inspiration to all Americans to work for peace in the world and tolerance, justice, and order at home.

Hon. Abraham A. Ribicoff OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. President, our Nation felt shock and outrage at the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

A brilliant young leader has been shot down—and our Nation has suffered a great loss.

If we can find any measure of consolation at this time, it is in the hope that the Nation will now rededicate itself to achieving genuine justice and freedom for all its citizens—the very goals Senator Robert Kennedy pursued with such enthusiasm and courage.

"New Resolve," the title of an editorial published in the Bridgeport, Conn., Post of June 9, 1968, is about the need for all Americans to vow to improve this great Nation—and to work to accomplish our goals with the same determination that Senator Kennedy displayed.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

NEW RESOLVE

Today is a day of national mourning, the second we have been called to observe in recent weeks.

In issuing the proclamation President Johnson declared, "In our churches, in our homes, and in our hearts let us resolve before God and before each other that the purpose of progress and justice for which Robert F. Kennedy lived shall endure."

This day should be a time for one and all to make a thorough examination of his conscience. We did not press that trigger, but are we by our everyday attitude helping to rebuild America?

We may think, each of us, that our hearts are clean of hate. Yet, are they filled with love?

Each of us in our solitude can answer this question.

As never before in recent history our spiritual leaders are being challenged to translate for us the teachings of Jesus Christ. We must listen to their words and imprint these messages on our minds.

And, if ever there has been a need for courage on the part of our elective officials and those who aspire to high public office that time is now.

Our high-ranking elective officials no longer command the public respect that should be afforded them. Through the years a compilation of incidents, many centering around self-interest and pettiness, has contributed to the attitude of a great many people toward our highest public offices.

Through their conduct these men and women must win back the respect their offices deserve and we must be ready and willing to adjust upward our appraisal of our lawmakers and ranking Government officials. We must want and we must follow leadership.

They have responsibilities.

So do we.

An appreciation of both can come about only through mutual respect.

The last words of Senator Kennedy might well serve as our guide. "People want a change. A new direction. Peace. We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country."

No matter how elusive it may seem, as undefined as Senator Kennedy left it, that "new direction" must be found, developed for the common good, and followed through the corridors of the future.

Hon. Ernest F. Hollings

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, Robert Kennedy, dedicated to change, died in transit. When I met him in 1954, he was shy and groping for problems to solve. At death, he groped for solutions. Earlier he challenged labor racketeering, and then, with his brother, developed the New Frontier. Working for civil rights, he acted responsibly—but was chastised for being too fast and too slow. The President's assassination sped civil rights to reality and, still shy, Robert tried not to become a candidate. The crowds, the amenities, the tolerance of bias, and the indulgence of incompetence necessary to politics was his last desire. Perhaps a Kennedy Foundation was the answer. But no, this would only scratch the surface. Moreover, a torch had been lit, and he was its bearer. To solve, he must involve. Against tradition that he respected, he went to New York and became its Senator. And, like the American scene, he changed. He realized the rebuff to change, the rebuff to young ideas, the rebuff to the poor. To him this was unacceptable. Having seen the goal, he raced in that direction. There was not time, as Burns wrote, "to see ourselves as others see us." And "others" saw a different goal—public office at any price. The very divisiveness he sought to heal, he irritated. As well as a solution, Robert became a part of

the problem. And, as a man, he will remain controversial.

For me he was an understanding friend, the most moral of men, willing to change for the good, and die for the poor. He had been uncomfortable for a long time. Because of his moral courage to recognize the poor and young whom we have ignored, we shall be uncomfortable until we take heed. For as John Kennedy is remembered for bringing class to public service, Robert Kennedy will be remembered for bringing public service to the classes.

Hon. Jacob K. Javits

OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, Averell Harriman, now negotiating in Paris, and a former Governor of the State of New York, made a very distinguished statement upon the passing of our beloved colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record, and ask unanimous consent also that in any printing of the consolidated statements made upon this sad event, the statement of Ambassador Harriman may be included.

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

Senator Robert K. Kennedy was one of the most gallant men I have ever known. He was fearless. He faced facts squarely. It was impossible for him not to tell the truth as he saw it. I think that is why some people thought he was ruthless. At times the truth is ruthless. He supported the causes he believed in regardless of the enemies he knew that he would make. But few men have won the deep respect and affection of so many. Negroes and other minorities knew that he had accepted their cause as his own.

If he had been elected President, he would have been a great President. He shared with President Kennedy many of his inspired decisions. He understood the problems of our time, and in some capacity he would have played a major role in forwarding the greatness of our country in which he had such deep faith. Our country has suffered an irreparable loss.

Hon. Robert C. Byrd

OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. President, I have before me various memorials received from officials of foreign governments, addressed to the Vice President or to the Senate, expressing deep regret at the recent

passing of Senator Robert Kennedy. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

JUNE 6, 1968.

*To the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

Our sincere grief over the death of the late lamented Senator Robert Kennedy. I beg to accept our heartfelt condolences.

The PERSONNEL OF THE SCACC.

JUNE 6, 1968.

*To the Honorable U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

The Senate of Nicaragua vividly moved by the death of the Honorable Robert Kennedy shares the sorrow that has afflicted the people of the United States and in particular its Senate of which the illustrious departed has been a member.

Your truly,

MARIANO ARGUELLO,
President of the Senate of Nicaragua.

PABLO RENER,

Secretary.

EDUARDO RIVAS GASTEALAZORO,
Secretary.

*The President,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

The Senate of Chile deeply shocked over the terrible misfortune that has afflicted your agency by the passing of Senator Robert Kennedy expresses its feelings of sorrow and grief and wishes at the same time that his sacrifice may not have been in vain and that it will help call on all the people of this world to live in harmony and lasting peace.

LUIS FERNANDO LUENGO,
Vice President of the Senate,
PELAGIO FIGUEROA TORO,
Secretary of the Senate.

JUNE 6, 1968.

*To the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

The Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica condemns the act that put an end to the life of the distinguished Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and expresses to the U.S. Senate its profound grief over this deplorable matter.

FERNANDO VOLIO,
President of the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica.

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA,
June 6, 1968.

His Excellency HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*President of the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:*

Having learned of the tragic passing of the illustrious Senator Robert F. Kennedy the people and the Government of Costa Rica are deeply shocked. On behalf of this

people and Government I beg Your Excellency to accept our sympathy and to make it known through your intermediary to the Congress of the United States. I also ask you to transmit our repudiation of such an execrable crime which put an end to a valuable life and plunged into sorrow a noble and good people deserving lasting happiness.

JORGE VEGA RODRIGUEZ,
First Vice President, Acting on Behalf of the Presidency of the Republic.

The Congress of the Republic express heartfelt condolences to the Senate, Government, and people of the United States of America upon the tragic death of the illustrious and distinguished Senator Robert F. Kennedy and regrets such an irreparable loss which constitutes a hard blow to American democracy.

J. GREGORIO PREM B.,
President of the Congress of the Republic of Guatemala.

PORT AU PRINCE, HAITI,
June 6, 1968.

To the PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

The Legislative Chamber of Haiti is shocked and through me as its spokesman expresses to you its indignation in the face of the crime that has taken the life of one of the Members of your great agency, Senator Robert Kennedy. These acts of violence freely preached and spread are of a persuasive force in an advanced democracy and there is no need for me to comment on it. On behalf of my colleagues of the Legislative Chamber and in my own name I wish to express to the Members of the U.S. Senate my heartfelt sympathies.

ULRICK ST. LOUIS,
President of the Legislative Chamber of Haiti.

SAIGON,
June 8, 1968.

The PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate:

Deeply moved by the news about the death of Senator Robert Kennedy expressing to you my heartfelt condolences and respects.

PHAN HUY DUC,
President.

BONN, GERMANY,
June 8, 1968.

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States of America, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

On the occasion of the heavy loss suffered by you and the United States of America through the death of Senator Robert Kennedy, I wish to assure you of my deepest sympathy and, at the same time, to express to you my sincere wish that those politically responsible in your country and the American people succeed in a speedy overcoming of the crisis caused by this heinous deed, for the benefit of your country and the whole free world.

LUDWIG ERHARD,
Federal Chancellor, Retired.

PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
Washington:

The Liberal Party of Honduras expresses through your intermediary to the U.S. people its immense grief over the abominable crime perpetrated against the illustrious person and eminent Senator Robert F. Kennedy. We participate with you in this moment of worldwide sorrow.

CARLOS ROBERTO REINA,
President of the Executive Central Council of the Liberal Party.

MOSCOW, RUSSIA,
June 7, 1968.

To the Senate of the United States of America:

I convey to you my deep sympathy on the occasion of the tragic death of the progressive leader, Senator Robert Kennedy. I hope that the high ideas for which he fought will be carried on by all honest people of America.

Writer LARIONOVA.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 6, 1968.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

In these tragic hours of national mourning in which once more the Government and the people of America have been plunged as a result of the death of the young and dynamic Senator Robert F. Kennedy, so cowardly assassinated, I wish to express to you my most heartfelt condolences and those of the officials and employees of the Embassy of Gabon in the United States.

LEONARD A. BADINGA,
Ambassador.

June 6, 1968.

Mr. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate and Vice President of the United States of America:

We wish to express our most sincere sympathy on the occasion of the villainous killing of the outstanding leader of the United States of America, Robert F. Kennedy. The infamous crime to which Robert F. Kennedy fell victim arouses a feeling of indignation in the Soviet people.

I. SPIRIDONOV,
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
IU. PALECKIS,
Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities U.S.S.R.

Honduran University youth deeply moved in face of the loss of the greatest and genuine representative of the ideals and principles of democratic youth, strongly condemn vile assassination. We urge U.S. youth to continue fighting for the ideals which led to the death of such an illustrious leader.

FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF HONDURAS.

On behalf of the Legislative Chambers and myself I express to Your Excellency our deep mourning laid upon us by the regrettable passing of the eminent Democratic

Senator Robert Kennedy, requesting that you extend these expressions to his afflicted and distinguished family.

Sincerely,

Dr. LUIS ADOLFO SILES SALINAS,
President of the Congress of Bolivia.

The Ecuadorian people deplore the death of Senator Robert Kennedy, the worthy exponent of universal culture and civilization.

Dr. GUILLERMO MOLINA DEFRANC,
Minister of Public Health of the Republic of Ecuador.

This association and our people join you in this grievous moment.

MIGUEL MOLINA,
President, Association OAS Ex-Scholarship Students of Honduras.

JUNE 9, 1968.

Mr. HUBERT HUMPHREY,
President, U.S. Senate,
Washington D.C.:

Workers of Israel shocked and grieved beyond words by untimely death of Robert F. Kennedy at assassins hands. With his death American people and all mankind have lost a man of truth and justice, valiant and dauntless fighter for free society conceived in justice and right of nations to exist in all parts of the world. Please convey profound sympathy and condolence to bereaved family and friends of deceased. We shall always honor and cherish his memory.

Y. MESHEL,
Acting Secretary General, Histadrut General Federation of Labour in Israel.

SAIGON,
June 8, 1968.

The SPEAKER OF THE U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

Greatly shocked when learning that Senator Robert Francis Kennedy a worldwide famous fighter for the freedom for Americans and world peoples, especially Vietnamese, was tragically and senselessly assassinated, all members of the Alliance for Freedom and Vietnamese Association of Gratitude to the Allied Armed Forces fighting for Vietnam's freedom, join me to cable you our deepest feelings of regrets. We respectfully ask you to convey to the American people and to the mournful family of late Senator R. F. Kennedy our sincere condolences.

Engineer NGUYEN DINH CON,
Chairman of Vietnam Alliance for Freedom.

CARACUS, VENEZUELA.

I express to you my deep sorrow for the tragic loss of Senator Kennedy. The shining figure of that institution and the untiring apostle in the struggle for freedom, justice, and peace.

Deputy HUGO BRICENO SALAS.

To the Congress of the United States of America, Capitol,
Washington, D.C.:

The Consul of Lebanon representing the Lebanese colony in Puerto Rico expresses through this message of con-

dolence his adherence to the feeling of the North American Government and people for the irreparable loss of he who was an eminent member of American society and politics; Senator Robert F. Kennedy. At the same time we raise up our strong condemnation for the act of barbarism and assassination committed on the person of such an illustrious Senator and bulwark of Democracy on our continent and the whole world.

SALIVE TARTAK,
Honorary Consul of Lebanon in Puerto Rico.

Please accept and transmit to the Senate under your presidency the expression of deep regret and sincere sorrow from this Spanish Parliament upon the tragic death of Senator Robert Fitzgerald [sic] Kennedy with the strongest protest and rebuke for the vile assassination of which such an illustrious patrician and valiant knight of the ideals of peace and human solidarity to which all we men of good will subscribe was the victim.

Sincerely,

ANTONIO ITURMENDI,
President of the Spanish Parliament.

The death of Senator Robert Kennedy, indefatigable fighter for world peace, faithful representative of the best value of the North American people and young hope of better days for humanity, has touched us to the very depths of our spirits. Please accept the expressions of the unanimous feeling of regret of this body and the evidence of our personal and heartfelt condolences.

HECTOR VALENZUELA VALDERRAMA,
President of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile.

LIMA, PERU,
June 5, 1968.

Vice President HUMPHREY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

The attempt on Senator Kennedy has hurt world democracy. I ask you to convey my sympathy to the U.S. Senate and to the family of Senator Kennedy.

ARMANDO VILLANUEVA DEL CAMPO,
President of the Chamber of Deputies.

JUNE 5, 1968.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

On behalf of the Bolivian Senate I wish to express our concern over the criminal attempt on the Democratic Senator Kennedy wishing him a speedy recovery.

Yours sincerely,

MANFREDO KEMPFER MERCADO,
President of the National Senate.

LIMA, PERU,
June 5, 1968.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

In a session held today on the initiative of Senator Luis Alberto Sanchez with the adhesion of the political parties represented in this Congress the Senate of Peru wishes to express to your high chamber and presidency its protest, rejection and sorrow over the attempt of which has

become a victim Senator Robert Kennedy presidential candidate of your republic and great friend of our nation. We ask you to transmit our sympathy to him and his worthy family. This chamber considers this painful event as an affront to the democracy and solidarity of the American peoples.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID AGUILAR CORNEJO,
President of the Senate of Peru.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM,
June 6, 1968.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE,
Washington, D.C.:

I have learned with painful grief about the fatal result of the abominable attempt of which Senator Robert Kennedy has become a victim. I bow with emotion while remembering this great citizen taken at the prime of his life from his country whose outstanding servant he was and from the cause of peace of which he was a courageous champion. Please convey to the United States Senate and to the family of Mr. Kennedy my heart-felt sympathies and those of the Senate of Belgium.

PAUL STRUYE,
President of the Senate.

BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA,
June 5, 1968.

To the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

As Democrats and in the name of the Colombian transportation [association?], we decidedly deplore the treacherous attack of which became a victim Doctor Robert Kennedy, a courageous and intelligent person, one of the real Representatives of his country and an outstanding defender of human rights.

Respectfully,

VICTOR LINO FRANCO.

JUNE 5, 1968.

To the U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

On behalf of the sovereign national Congress of the Republic of Honduras over which I have the honor to preside we deplore the condemnable attempt on Senator Robert Kennedy and pray for the speedy recovery of the illustrious representative of the aspirations of the Democratic world.

MARIO RIVERA LOPEZ.

Hon. George Murphy
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, our personal tributes here in the Senate to the late Robert F. Kennedy, although deeply heartfelt, can, by their very nature, be little more than inarticulate echoes of the national grief.

The broader eulogy, in which we share, is mainly being written elsewhere—in tear-filled

eyes, on praying lips, and in the footsteps of the tens of thousands of mourners filing past a new grave in Arlington National Cemetery.

At the same time, there is another aspect to our common emotion for although we are joined in sorrow, we cannot help thinking of the enormous spirit of joyful vitality which he inspired and which, despite his death, will live on.

As the personification of this spirit, Robert Kennedy was a man particularly needed by his times.

Misery, suffering, and injustice threaten to overwhelm us.

War and poverty are our constant attendants.

It is hard to smile.

Like all of us, Robert Kennedy experienced great anguish as a result of the trouble and turmoil burdening the family of man and he worked constantly for improvement.

He did not forget, however, that the Almighty has given mankind a potential for happiness, and consequently there could always be found in the actions of Robert Kennedy a dedication to the principle that life is, indeed, worth living.

Where there was apathy, he left involvement.

Where there was despair, he inspired hope.

This, then, is his major legacy.

Call it inspiration.

Call it excitement.

Call it enjoyment, if you will, for this, too, in the most wholesome meaning of the word, was a vital part of the life that Robert Kennedy shared with all of us.

Many tears have been shed in his memory.

We shall honor him most by working for those goals which will make it easier for men to smile.

Hon. Claiborne Pell

OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. President, the senior Senator from Massachusetts gave an immensely moving, powerful, and poignant eulogy at the funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral of his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy. While all of us there were in the depths of grief, these clear, wonderful words gave to each of us a sense of true direction as to how our Nation can and should be moving.

Accordingly, I submit a resolution ordering that the tribute be printed as a Senate document.

The *Acting President* pro tempore. The reso-

lution will be received and appropriately referred; and, under the rule, the resolution will be printed in the Record.

S. RES. 304

Resolved, That the tribute paid by Senator Edward M. Kennedy to his brother the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, at Saint Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, on Saturday, June 8, 1968, be printed as a Senate document.

Hon. Mike Mansfield

OF MONTANA

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record a very warm and heart-touching letter from Prof. Juan B. Sepulveda Lozano of the Mercantile Institute of Monterrey, Monterrey, Mexico, commenting on the passing of our late and respected colleague, Robert F. Kennedy.

[Spanish translation]

MERCANTILE INSTITUTE OF MONTERREY,

Mexico 4, D.F., June 7, 1968.

Let us pray: Grant us, oh Lord, that the soul of your servant Robert F. Kennedy who has been wrested from the recent fights in our lives here, enter the kingdom of heaven through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
U.S. Senate, Office of the Majority Leader,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The attempt made in the early hours of June 5 on Senator Robert F. Kennedy, a dear friend of Mexico and of the humble, deeply moved the administrative personnel, the teaching staff and the students of this commercial school.

Truly, on Wednesday and Thursday of this week, family man, teachers, and students of this educational institute have been avidly reading and listening to the bulletins which, transmitted by the press, radio, and TV, gave a step-by-step account of the different stages of this dismal happening that fills with mourning the hearts of our good neighbors of the north and also those of the great Mexican family who learned that the splinters of an assassin's bullet brought about irreparable damages to the brain which caused the death of an outstanding, valiant, temperate, modest, gay and, most of all, big-hearted man whose life and work—both exemplary—furthermore are a symbol of virtue and austerity, a lofty example for the youth of the present and the future who will take and hold up the banners of democracy and social justice which always have been maxims in the life of this glorious and exemplary U.S. citizen.

This inexplicable, odious and inhuman attempt is, in our opinion, an affront to human dignity and a violation of the commandment of brotherly love which God's law prescribed to all men: "Love each other."

Mr. Mansfield, we, the administrative and teaching personnel of this institute, observed this morning one

minute of silence to show our grief, affection, and admiration for the vanished; furthermore we sent our most sincere prayers for him to God our Lord, and, truthfully, we wish to tell you that we all felt great pain when we heard of this new tragedy that filled this great American people with sadness, fright, and mourning.

As technical director of this House of Education, I respectfully wish to tell you that I as well as my colleagues and teachers were profoundly moved when we learned of the attempt on Senator Robert F. Kennedy, presidential candidate. Furthermore, as a Christian, I see in this act a terrible, inhuman, useless affair that will only achieve the opposite.

With the preceding, we fervently wish to declare that we, the management, the teachers, family men, and students of this school, share grief with you, the Kennedy family, and your people and we, piously, beg and ask our Lord that the eminent U.S. citizen, Robert F. Kennedy, may rest in peace because he fought so much in his life and his virtues are the everlasting fuel that will always revive his memory in the heads and hearts of the U.S. people.

On behalf of the young men of this institute we salute you and ask God that this so painful happening turn to light to explain to us why there is so much harm in the life of the civilized nations.

Yours truly,

[Signature],

For the Management and Teaching Staff.

Prof. JUAN B. SEPULVEDA LOZANO,

Technical Director.

PEDRO VISCANA,

For the Students.

—— SANCHEZ,

For the Association of Parents.

Hon. Thomas H. Kuchel
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, this is the first opportunity I have had to stand here in the Senate to lament the terrible passing of Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Robert F. Kennedy was a man of drive and of determination. In his short lifespan, he seemed almost constantly to be on the move. He crowded enormous action into few—too few—years.

He was my friend. I well remember when he first said so. It was just after he had been sworn in as U.S. Senator. He had defeated the Republican incumbent, Kenneth Keating—who happens to be with us today—whom I had supported and campaigned for, and with whom I had served here. Bob Kennedy and I shook hands, as I welcomed him to the Senate. He said to me: "I'm glad to be here with you. You were a friend of

my brother. That makes you a friend of the whole Kennedy family."

Like my fellow American citizens, I shed tears of sorrow for the enormous sacrifice this remarkable family has given to our Nation. And, like most Americans, too, my heart is full of shame and pain at an America where wanton murder—lawlessness, violence of any kind—may suddenly erupt in any segment of our society, to do incalculable damage to our entire society, as they suddenly bring shock and grief to the family of the victim.

The tragedy of his death was not simply because of the high place in Government that he had held, nor in the enormous number of people he then represented in New York State, nor in the potential of candidacy of his political party for the most important post in the world. The tragedy lies in the stark and painful fact that a man of high purpose was robbed of his life, of his happiness and of his chance to fulfill constructively that purpose in some form on some future day. The tragedy is deepened because the mortal wound was inflicted at a moment of triumph for Robert Kennedy. It is deepened also for me because it happened in my State of California in Los Angeles. I mourn his death and grieve his loss.

I would not be one to affix a mass blame for the killing of one man by another. But there is some measure of natural reaction beyond the grief we feel. Assassination has become too much a part of our public life in the 1960's not to provoke outrage. The outrage can be channeled into fitting action, I believe, if one considers that all of the horrible deeds which have been unfolding, as well as most of the homicides in this Nation, are gun crimes. I add my voice once again, to those who say that meaningful gun control laws, demanded by the public for decades of opinion polling, should be enacted immediately.

Must not this be a time of dedication to the cause of a Nation united? The evil tendencies toward polarizing America into separate camps, which official reports and unofficial observers fear or prophesy, is to me one of the most terrifying portents of this century. I believe it was equally frightening to Robert Kennedy. One of the most urgent tasks of men both in Government and out of Government is to keep the fabric of our society whole. It is a dedication, a commitment,

which surely represents the best kind of memorial for a man who kept a sense of purpose to the day he lost his life.

Hon. Carl Hayden OF ARIZONA

Mr. President, my administrative assistant, Roy Elson, paid tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and affirmed hope in America when he delivered a speech at a flag presentation ceremony in Tempe, Ariz., on June 9, 1968.

I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the Record as a tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

It may be significant that we honor our national emblem on a day of national mourning. I trust it is not symbolic. For death is never a nation's finest hour.

Our Nation . . . which this flag symbolizes . . . has been sharply reminded, once again, of the dangers that surround us in a changing world, we have seen again . . . for the second time in five years . . . A senseless murder committed against a family symbolic of American opportunity. We have watched the crime almost in its commission. We have seen the dying man, and shared the grief of his family, and those close by him. We have followed the course of the victim right up to his final resting place.

Having witnessed all of this . . . having watched every movement of the players in this bizarre drama . . . I cannot help but wonder what we have learned. We know that Robert Kennedy was serving the cause of his ideas and ideals on the battlefield when he was struck down. We know that Robert Kennedy had every intention of taking his fight to change America to every doorstep in America. We know that he lost his life in pursuit of that goal.

Ironically, just moments before the assassin's bullet ended his career, Senator Kennedy had just claimed the biggest prize yet in the race to American leadership . . . the California primary. Now we will never know how the drama would have ended.

It is like an author's unfinished manuscript.

It is now up to us to fulfill the role in Robert Kennedy's tragic drama and pursue the American dream in a spirit of tranquility rather than catastrophe. Should any man give his life in pursuit of a better America, and have it go unremembered . . . his work unfinished? Robert Kennedy's death can serve as an inspiration to the people of this country. It can serve as a rallying point for people who are suddenly sick of what is happening in this country, and sick of what has happened this week. You don't have to agree with Robert Kennedy to see that this Nation needs our help. You cannot elect a man to the White House, or to the Congress, or to the city council . . . and then expect him to solve all of your problems. Good government is a continuous process,

calling for participation from all levels of the governed.

Furthermore, it is no longer possible to stand still in the process of governing, legislating, or being governed. As fast as we can find solutions, new problems emerge and old problems enlarge. As fast as the lawmaking machinery smooths out a rough spot in our society, a new abrasion needs treatment elsewhere. And, most frustrating of all, those of us being governed find ourselves in a constant state of fright that things are moving too fast to comprehend. All in all, it would be nice if we could declare a national moratorium on these matters, but we cannot . . . anymore than we can wish away the problems and responsibilities of modern life.

Instead of a moratorium, maybe it's time that the American people give their consent to solving the problems of this country. Maybe it's time we gave up sectionalism, classism, racism, and some of the other isms that stand in the way of a united United States of America.

Maybe it's time that everyone in this country examines his conscience. Maybe we should attach some meaning to words like . . . duty . . . responsibility . . . freedom . . . justice and dignity of the individual. Maybe we should examine our personal goals. Are we losing our freedom in a frantic race for personal success? Are we losing our sense of humanity in the quest of personal gain? When we speak of freedom, do we ask freedom for whom? It is freedom for some of us? Or freedom for all of us? I prefer the latter.

Perhaps these questions and our problems cannot be answered or solved today or tomorrow or next week. They will persist long after the flag goes back to the top of the staff. But the quest for the answers will go on. For to abandon the quest is to abandon the American dream. And we all have an American dream. The stars and stripes, at half mast or full mast symbolize it.

Thank you.

Hon. Ernest F. Hollings OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. President, the Saturday Review of June 22 contains a most moving and eloquent tribute to the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. The eulogy was written by Mr. Ted Sorensen, familiar to all of us here.

I know of no one more qualified than Mr. Sorensen to comment on the late Senator. Indeed, almost his entire adult life has been spent in service to the Kennedy family, beginning in 1953, when at the age of 25, he became legislative assistant to then Senator John Kennedy.

I think the thing that stands out most in Mr. Sorensen's tribute are the lines:

On yes, much will be said and written about his death. Let us honor and remember his life.

Quite often, when death is sudden and tragic, we allow that death to obscure the accomplishments of life. I echo these sentiments and believe Senator Kennedy would want it that way.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be reprinted in the RECORD.

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY: A PERSONAL MEMOIR—"A BEAUTIFUL LIFE—SO UNFAIRLY BRIEF BUT SO INCREDIBLY FULL."

(By Theodore C. Sorensen)

To begin with, Robert Kennedy is dead. No words can alter that unalterable fact. No tears can console our inconsolable grief, and no monument or memorial can replace that irreplaceable figure whose leadership and laughter and love of fellow man are now lost.

Thus is it hard for those of us who loved and looked to him to expose our wounds with words before time has crusted them over just a little. But much of what is being spoken and written today revolves around Robert Kennedy's death; and we shall only be multiplying the tragedy of that mindless, senseless act if our memories do not revolve around his life.

It is not his death but his life that speaks volumes against the folly and futility of violence. If his spirit now cries out to us to halt, it calls upon us to halt not merely the unlimited sale of guns, but the unlimited killing of men, whether it is done in defiance of the law or in the name of the law, by an assassin or by a nation. And to urge in his name repressive anticrime legislation which he opposed is to turn tragedy into travesty.

Oh yes, much will be said and written about his death. Let us honor and remember his life. It was a beautiful life—so unfairly brief but so incredibly full, marked by sorrow but overflowing with joy, too short to do all that he wanted to do, but long enough to leave more lasting legacies to all mankind that a legion of lesser men could have achieved at twice his age. It was a meaningful life—blessed with the love of a wonderful wife and children, enriched by the shining example of a brother whom he loved and served and helped make great.

And yet, for such a public man, it as a surprisingly private life. He was adored by millions, excoriated by thousands, but known, by very, very few. Those who saw only the toughness of his hide could not have believed the tenderness of his heart. Those who marveled at the majesty of his public presence could not have understood the modesty of his private thoughts. It would surprise those critics who spoke so stupidly about his ruthlessness to know that in fact, in the poet's words, "His life was *so* gentle, and the elements *so* mixed in him, that nature might stand on its feet and say to all the world: this was a man."

Even some of his friends helped to blur the picture. Because his foes tried to picture him as tough, ambitious and relentless, we tried to say that he was not. But he was—tough enough to withstand those slings and arrows of misfortune and malice that have driven other men from the field, ambitious enough to increase his contribution to his country, and relentless in his pursuit of justice for all and hopelessness for none.

Unlike his brother, Robert Kennedy never became President of the United States—although I truly believe he was on his way to becoming one of the greatest—but he molded more minds and inspired more hearts in this and other nations than nearly all of the men who served in that exalted post. Like his brother, he forsook comfort for country, grew wiser and warmer as he grew older, preferred candor to cliches in both formal and informal utterances, laughed at himself more often than at others forgave even those who reviled him, and was struck down by the assassin's bullet at the height of his power and glory.

There is no curse upon the Kennedys. They have more than their share of ill-fate because they had more than their share of the courage and the conviction required to dare and to try and to tempt fate. They believed with Sir Francis Bacon that there is no comparison between that which is lost by not succeeding and that which is lost by not trying. They died heroic deaths because they lived heroic lives.

Those lives were not wasted. The bitterness of our anguish today cannot cause us to forget the lasting value of their valiant labors. And so it is that we remember now, especially now, how Robert Kennedy appeared before the Democratic National Convention's memorial service for his brother in 1964 and recited these words from Shakespeare:

"When he shall die

Take him and cut him out in little stars

And he shall make the face of heaven so fine

That all the world will be in love with night . . ."

Hon. Joseph S. Clark OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has moved Americans across the entire Nation to expression of their deep-felt sorrow—sorrow for the Kennedy family, which has endured so much; sorrow for the Nation, which has lost an able young leader; and sorrow for themselves—for every American has lost the helping hand of a man who cared deeply about individuals and their needs. Two of my constituents have expressed their grief in beautifully moving poems. So that all Members of Congress may share with me the message of these poems, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record. The first is by Mr. Harold F. Mohn of Myerstown, Pa.; the second is by Mrs. Marion G. Mosely of Germantown, Pa.

A PRAYER FOR THE REPOSE OF THE BELOVED SENATOR, ROBERT F. KENNEDY

(By Harold F. Mohn, Freedoms Foundation George Washington Medal of Honor recipient)

Almighty God, into Your arms
We ask You to take this son,

Whose work in life and on this earth
 It as an end and done.
 Accept him to Your kingdom, God,
 And bid him enter in,
 Where he may find eternal peace
 Free from all strife and sin.
 Dear God, 'twas You who gave his breath
 To see the light of day;
 Accept him now into Your arms,
 There let him ever stay.

REFORMATION OF THE COVENANT

(By Marion G. Mosely)

Though we are falling—
 You need not
 Bear the guilt
 Nor I the shame
 In sad aloneness
 Rejecting the covenant,
 Confused in our pain
 And torn with its happening,
 Suffering our silences
 In grim awareness
 Absorbed by the moment's
 Real or seeming slight,
 And recoiling with
 Each threatening thrust
 Of violence
 To whet and sharpen
 Tired cruel defenses,
 So bound by our torment
 Of the stricken self
 The corrupted soul,
 We no longer recall
 It is only through
 The covenant.

We are sustained—
 And all life asks is
 That we yield to accept
 That we try to express
 As we can
 The way you are
 The way I am,
 Forgiving the trespass
 While embracing the truth,
 As truth unfolds
 The gifts
 Withdrawn out of
 The hallowed place
 Of our integrity,
 Shaping them to describe
 Our separate need
 Our mutual yearning
 As it occurs
 With the rise to
 Realize harmony or
 With this frightening
 Curve of our fall
 To revive.

In the pause for exchange—
 As we are
 Like descending stars
 Trailing fires of change
 Into the waiting arms
 Of deep renewal,
 Drawn by our struggle
 To sustain awareness
 Unto the sheltering sea
 Of our dim knowing,
 Our pause for peace,
 There surrounded by
 The myriad rhythms
 Of time
 The soul responds
 In kind to
 The sacred stimulus,
 Submitting to love's
 Strange and subtle
 Persuasions coaxing us
 Into the joyous urge
 To thrust free
 Reborn.
 To live again—
 Released to rise
 Through love
 By the grace of forgiveness
 By our simple acceptance
 Of truth's unfolding awareness
 To create new forms
 An offering of our joy
 In remembrance of
 This place we are
 Blessed to share
 In the way
 That is yours
 In the way
 That is mine
 Through the life
 That is ours.

(NOTE.—This poem is dedicated to the memory of Medgar Evers, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy for they have loved, they have served their God and their country with all they had to offer.)

Hon. Herman E. Talmadge

OF GEORGIA

Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senate to a resolution adopted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post No. 3027 in Atlanta, Ga., of which I am a member, mourning the tragic and senseless assassination of Senator Kennedy.

The resolution expresses the deep grief felt by citizens throughout our country. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

RESOLUTION OF POST No. 3027, VFW, ATLANTA, GA.,
JUNE 13, 1968

Whereas our Nation and the entire world sustained a great loss in the tragic passing of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, and

Whereas, he was carrying on a family heritage of public service at the time he was so cruelly attacked, and

Whereas he served honorably in war time in the United States Navy, and

Whereas he was true to God, Country and Flag in his desire and efforts to better serve the people of our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Marcus W. Beck, Jr., Post No. 3027, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, located in Atlanta, Georgia, mourn with our fellow Americans the passing of this great soul, U.S. Navy war veteran, a patriot in every sense of the word, a prominent member of the U.S. Senate, a loyal communicant of his Church, a devoted son, brother, husband and father, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be presented at the State Convention of the Georgia VFW in Atlanta, June 21-23, for similar adoption and to Comrade Herman Talmadge, U.S. Senate, requesting it be inserted in the Congressional Record.

HAROLD B. McELROY,
Commander.

A. C. DOOLEY,
Adjutant.

CHARLES A. MORAN,
Cofounder and Past Commander.

Hon. Frank Church OF IDAHO

Mr. President, Mr. Drury Brown, the editor of the Blackfoot News, Blackfoot, Idaho, is a quiet-spoken, sensitive, and intelligent man who has often displayed the kind of moral courage that the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy admired.

It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have written so deeply felt an editorial tribute as that which was published in the June 10 edition of his newspaper. The editorial is entitled "A Wake for Senator Kennedy." It is based upon a true account of an actual happening, retold so movingly that I believe it should have a place in the body of the Record.

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that this exceptional tribute be printed in the Record.

A WAKE FOR SENATOR KENNEDY

The concern that Senator Robert F. Kennedy felt for those Americans from whom the American dream seemed most remote was told in the days of mourning that followed his death. Even the cynical among us must be touched by the evidence he indeed achieved a rapport with the objects of his concern.

Soon after his death became known, the thought occurred that it would bring sorrow to some of the people of the Fort Hall Reservation. It remains strong in their minds that in January 1968, he interrupted a Sun Valley vacation to visit them and conduct a hearing on the reservation for the United States Indian Affairs subcommittee that he headed.

An official expression of their concern may have been sent to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy. It is for these proud and sensitive but muted people to know. But the thought occurred that many individual Indians would feel that when Senator Kennedy died they had lost a friend who cared. Would there be any expression from these people, who in the last three centuries have become undemonstrative in the face of what they may still consider to be hostile power?

The answer may have been found in something that occurred in Blackfoot Friday.

Early that afternoon an Indian acquaintance who stops occasionally at the office of The Blackfoot News came in. He carried with him the smell of liquor. He spoke incoherently.

"He was our friend. Tell them he was our friend. He came to see us."

Almost fiercely he sought a listener. "They should know," he repeated to everyone who would listen. I'm afraid that ears were closed to him. Eventually he wandered out.

About an hour later he returned. This time he confronted this reporter. Tears were streaming down his face.

"I want to tell them that he was our friend. I may be drunk, but I want you to tell them. He came to see us—he talked to my father—he was going to make things better for us. I was a Marine. I fought in many battles for this country. He was the first really big man that came to see us. He saw how we lived. He told us he would help us get new houses. Tell them the Shoshone-Bannock people thought he was their friend. Promise me that you will tell them."

Wiping his tears, the first I ever saw an Indian shed, he reluctantly accepted assurances we would try to get the word to the people who should know. By that time there had emerged a sense of concern for a responsibility placed upon me by another.

Yet a third time the petitioner came back as the afternoon drew to a close. He had regained his composure. Steadily and with dignity he said:

"I'm not drunk. I'm sorry for acting as if I was before. But he was our friend and my friends and I want you to tell them." It had not occurred to me that he was acting as a messenger for others too.

Then I remembered a story that came out of World War II that I had read. It seems to me that it was written by Ernie Pyle, but I cannot be sure.

It was a story about the hard-bitten pilots of a group of fighter planes in the Pacific theater of the war. All but one of their group had returned from a mission. Tensely they awaited the report they feared. Eventually it came. Silently they wandered away individually, then reassembled later in a secluded spot. After time passed and bottles had been passed, soft cursing that sounded more like prayers than curses began to emerge as the men found their voices.

This is our effort to tell those who should know that a wake for Senator Robert Kennedy was held Friday in Blackfoot, Idaho, by some men of the Shoshone-Bannock nation.—DRB.

Hon. Joseph S. Clark

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. President, I present a resolution adopted by the City Council of Hazleton, Pa., offering condolences on the death of the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, on Thursday, the 6th day of June, A.D., 1968, Senator Robert F. Kennedy died as the direct result of mortal wounds inflicted by an assassin's bullets; and

Whereas, Senator Robert F. Kennedy was a most fervent advocate for peace, love of neighbor, aiding the poverty stricken and those discriminated against because of race, creed, or color; and

Whereas, the United States of America, has suffered a grievous loss of a learned and compassionate statesman; and

Whereas, the Senator's wife and children; parents; brothers and sisters have lost a loving husband and father; a devoted son; and a loyal brother; and

Whereas, Robert F. Kennedy and John F. Kennedy were struck down in pursuit of seeking a better way of life for the poor and minority groups; and

Whereas, our national leaders are presently speaking of legislation and sincere efforts to wipe out crime and violence in America; and

Whereas, our leaders cannot do anything, unless our people from the smallest hamlet, village, town, or city, join in the effort and when this is accomplished, then and only then, the lives of these great Americans will not have been given in vain; now

Therefore be it resolved by the Council of the City of Hazleton, Pa., as officials of the city of Hazleton, herewith extend our sympathy and love to all members of the Kennedy families and assure them their loved ones have not died in vain; and

Be it further resolved that we hereby pledge as elected officials of the city of Hazleton along with our citizenry, to make a sincere, concerted effort as a living memorial to the Kennedy boys, to eradicate prejudice, poverty, corruption and any violence that may exist in our community by instituting a policy of love of neighbor; regardless of race, creed, or color; and

Be it further resolved, that we pray to God, who is all knowing and all loving, for the eternal peace of Robert F. Kennedy.

Adopted by council this 10th day of June, A.D., 1968.

JOSEPH B. CONNAHAN,

Mayor.

Attest:

HUBERT C. CANNON,

City Clerk.

Hon. Vance Hartke

OF INDIANA

Mr. President the tragic assassination of our late colleague Senator Robert F. Kennedy gave rise to an outpouring of feeling on the part of great numbers of people often with a sense of personal loss even though they may not have had a personal acquaintance with him.

One response to the occasion was the composition of a poem by Larston B. Farrar, Washington publisher of a number of trade publications and of books as well. I ask unanimous consent that this lament in verse be printed in the Record.

OUR BOBBY IS NOW GONE

(For those who admired him, by Larston D. Farrar)

When a dedicated man,
With a noble goal in mind
Meets a Near East Fancy Dan,
With a hatred for his kind,
You can view the unexpected,
On the TV 'fore your eyes,
For no matter how respected,
Our hero falls and dies.
Our Bobby—dear Bobby—really was the one,
And now, without warning, he suddenly is gone.
The road that looms ahead,
Seems terrible and sad,
Because it's like he said,
The country has it bad.
He ran a famous race,
And, against the odds, he won,
You can see his smiling face,
Before he saw the killer's gun.
Our Bobby—dear Bobby—really was the one,
And now, without warning, he suddenly is gone.
'Twas a sad and tragic day,
That morning in LA,
When a fanatic off the lobby,
Took aim and killed our Bobby.
The sun was bright
His eyes were blue,
He strove to share his light,
With you, and you, and you.
Now Bobby was the one,
And yet our Bobby's gone.
"How bad is it?" he cried,
And Ethel could not tell.
He lapsed and then he died,
And we heard the last death knell.
"Don't pick me up," he called,
As she nestled by his side.
The people were appalled,
When they heard that he had died.
In the Capitol dome at night,
When you look at it just right,
You can see his friendly grin,
And you feel he yet may win.

Remember now this truth,
And know I kid you not.
He worked for the poor and youth,
And he lived to kill the rot.
There were giants in those days—
The two killed in fair weather.
They were victims of a craze,

And now they sleep together.
We will not see his like so soon,
The shock of hair and voice so smooth.
But fate may still give us a boon,
And teach us, too, to know his truth.
Our Bobby—dear Bobby—really was the one,
And now, without warning, he suddenly is gone.

Memorial Tributes

IN THE

House of Representatives

ON THE OCCASION OF

THE ASSASSINATION OF

Robert Francis Kennedy

In the House of Representatives of the United States

JUNE 6, 1968

PRAYER

Father Ralph J. Marlatt, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Piscataway, Md., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. O God, we pray for the soul of Your servant, the Senator from New York. Grant him eternal life. We also pray for those remaining, his wife and children, that they might have the strength to see Your will as it escapes human understanding.

Bless and strengthen these Representatives. Help them realize that all government comes from You, and that civil authorities are appointed by You for the service of others.

May Your spirit give them understanding and wisdom to carry out the trust that has been given to them.

These lawmakers, O Lord, are working in the midst of darkness in the world. Let us pray that they might burn with Your light so that men everywhere might feel the warmth of freedom. Amen.

Hon. Emanuel Celler
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, it is with a sense of profound shock that I rise to announce the death of Robert Francis Kennedy from the State of New York. Senator Kennedy died at 4:44 a.m. this morning.

Mr. Speaker, this young man, this concerned man, this man of profound peace, this man of grace, of gift, and wisdom was foully murdered.

Mr. Speaker, this country's loss cannot be measured. Robert F. Kennedy brought to whatever he undertook a dedication which he com-

municated not only to the millions of our own citizenry, but to the people around the world.

Born November 20, 1925, I might say born to greatness, he left an incisive mark in each of his pursuits, whether as Attorney General, as a Member of the other body, or as adviser to his brother, the late lamented John F. Kennedy, or whether in his efforts in special roles as counsel to Senate committees.

Mr. Speaker, Robert F. Kennedy cared as few men care, for the poor, for the unwanted, and for the maimed. His love for his country could never be questioned. He went among the people and they loved him. His last conscious words were "Is everybody safe?" And, these words bespoke the man.

What words of consolation can we offer to his wife, Ethel, to his children, to his family, to his country? I know of none. Perhaps each of us can make a private resolution, born out of this great grief, that part of his abiding compassion abide within each one of us.

But, finally, Mr. Speaker, let us intone the 23d Psalm:

THE 23D PSALM—A PSALM OF DAVID—BOOK
OF PSALMS

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Hon. Carl Albert
OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, on December 5, 1963, this House, with deep mourning in the hearts of every Member, assembled in memory of a former colleague, a great President who had fallen before an assassin's bullet, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Today, with similar sorrow, we mourn the death again at an assassin's hand of another member of the great Kennedy family, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. The profound sorrow which now spreads across our Nation like a dark cloud of despair will bring intense mourning to all good Americans. Decent men throughout the globe will long remember this day in sadness.

I wish that it were possible by words to express to Senator Kennedy's wonderful family, to his wife, Ethel, to his children, his father, mother, brother, and sisters the deep sympathy I hold for them. My prayers go out to them. May the love of God which passes all understanding comfort them in these hours of loss and sorrow. May the faith that has sustained them through so many tragedies in the past give them the courage to bear again the burden of their loss.

Senator Kennedy's life itself was a statement of the ideals and beliefs held in reverence by all Americans. Even in our grief we must remember that this man, who suffered through the assassination of his brother, carried no traumatic fears. He moved about freely and fearlessly, confident that his countrymen shared his absolute faith in freedom of expression and debate without fear of retaliation. He did not interpret the violent acts of a few as evidence of canker in the whole. He remained convinced of America's basic soundness.

Here, Mr. Speaker, was a man of compassion and a man of strength. He was the friend of the poor, the enemy of poverty. He was a champion of justice, the inveterate foe of special privilege. He fought for the ideals to which he was devoted. He dared to do his duty as he understood it.

And now, because of his death, the entire world faces shock and sorrow. He fought the good fight. He kept the faith. He was a friend of man. His death was a loss to our Nation, but his life was an inspiration to all.

Hon. Gerald R. Ford
OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, the shots that were fired at Senator Kennedy shocked each and every one of us; it was almost unbelievable. Now the Senator has passed away, and his assassination is a great tragedy in the history of the United States.

The words that were said yesterday by many on the floor of this body expressed the deep feeling that all of us had. The words that will be said today can only be a reiteration of the sorrow felt by the Members of the Congress with the passing of a fine citizen, a dedicated public official, a wonderful family man, and a person of deep convictions. Beyond these personal feelings, however, the words spoken here should be construed as echoing the determination of aroused, decent Americans that such dastardly deeds must stop, and that each and every one of us must play our part in making certain that such wicked attacks on the lives and safety of others and the peace and stability of the Nation must be prevented at all costs. The American people will settle for nothing less.

I join the distinguished dean of the New York delegation and the majority leader in extending to the wonderful wife of Senator Kennedy and his fine children our deepest condolences. I join the distinguished majority leader in expressing to the Ambassador and his wife and the entire Kennedy family our sadness in the passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Hale Boggs
OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Speaker, I recall in November 1963 riding with you and the majority leader to Andrews Air Force Base where we had the sad duty of greeting the widow of the late beloved President Kennedy. I remember the events of those times vividly—and the days immediately thereafter.

Shortly after that event, the new President asked the distinguished minority leader who has just spoken, myself, and others to serve on a commission to investigate with all of the resources available to the Government and to the country the dastardly deed that occurred on that

November day. We did that and we did it with dedication and to the best of our ability. That is now a matter of record.

On yesterday morning, very early in the morning, the telephone rang again in my home. My wife answered the phone at about 4 a.m. or thereabouts and I heard her say, "Oh, my God, it cannot be." The word came this way to Mrs. Boggs and me of the fatal wounding of Senator Robert Kennedy. I said to her that we cannot—we must not let violence consume this great Nation of ours.

The minority leader said, "I pray for Senator Kennedy"—and I think he expressed the feeling of each and every one of us. But he also said, "I pray for my country." I repeat that again, Mr. Speaker—I pray for my country in this hour of travail.

I had another call from the President, and he said that the distinguished Member from Ohio, my dear colleague whom I admire so much, Mr. McCulloch and others had agreed to serve with Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the brother of former President Eisenhower, and with a group of other Americans to take a look at this whole cancer of violence that is now permeating our country. I must say to you, Mr. Speaker, I accepted that assignment with great reluctance—first, because all of us have so much to do and, secondly, because I consider it the most difficult task before our whole Nation.

But if we can leave any monument—if we can leave any testimonial to John Kennedy—and now to his brother, Robert Kennedy—and yes, to countless other Americans who are meeting death on the streets in our country every day, it will be an effort—a genuine effort—a thorough effort—to get at this cancer that is eating into our society.

So I would hope, in expressing my deepest sympathy, and my sense of loss, that I know permeates the body and the mind and soul of every American, that if this latest crime has moved us in a direction against this permissive society and is moving us back to a sense of duty and dedication and obligation, which America must have if we are to survive then possibly Robert Kennedy and his brother have not died in vain.

Hon. Richard Bolling

OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, it was my very great privilege to work very closely with the late Senator Robert Kennedy from September 1960, until his retirement as Attorney General. Obviously, the first part of that association was in the campaign of his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy. Later I worked with him on much of the legislative program of the Kennedy administration and the program of the Johnson administration in 1964. I found him throughout all of that experience to be extraordinarily and unusually committed to the public interest, concerned with people, kind and gentle with the weak.

In 1964 I suffered one of those experiences that some of us occasionally face. The whole of my party's organization in my congressional district decided that they would rather have another Congressman, and despite some risk to himself, the then Attorney General made a nonpolitical trip to my district, which I have always believed turned the tide and allowed me to survive at that time. He did me the honor of allowing me to return the favor when he ran for the Senate, and I had the privilege of campaigning in the State of my birth, New York, on behalf of his election.

I know of no man in modern American history more committed to the public interest. He came from a family whose service in the public interest, as they saw it, is virtually unique in the history of this Republic, at least in modern times. It is a family which has done much and suffered much. I know of no family which has suffered more tragedy than the Kennedy family. To all of them my wife and I express our deepest sympathy, in particular to his remarkable wife, Ethel, who had suffered so much so often. I pray that God may give them comfort.

Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, this is a day to say farewell to Robert Kennedy. It is a day to count our sor-

rows. It is the time to cry a little for our country, before we try, once again, to pick up the pieces.

Robert Kennedy wanted, with the vigor of youth and with tireless energy and devotion, to lead our country. That is why he is not here today.

If he had been older, and wiser in our ways, he might have lived. If he had been more prudent, more cautious, and more tempered, he might have waited.

But when prudence competes with passion, we can rejoice that passion sometimes prevails. For his passion was a love of country and of its people which could not wait. If he had waited, if he had weighed each personal consideration, we would still have him but he would not have been the same man.

It is the consolation of the living to say that a tragic death was useful. I do not know. We all seem to end by making it easier for ourselves. We cry easily, but we forget easily too.

We forget that Robert Kennedy told us some hard truths that will endure beyond him. We forget that he awakened a forgotten part of our people with hope. We forget, even today, that he was a man with some answers we did not want to hear, and will now try to forget.

Let us not memorialize Robert Kennedy. Instead, let it be said that when Robert Kennedy died, something changed. Whatever he did, whoever he touched, however he managed it, something happened to America in 1968. And it happened because when we brushed away the tears, we saw a little more clearly.

Hon. Melvin R. Laird

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, I have today sent the following telegram to Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy:

Barbara and I join the Nation and the world in expressing our profound shock and sorrow at the senseless act that took your husband. Please accept our very deepest sympathies. Our prayers and thoughts are with you, your children, and loved ones during this most trying period.

Mr. Speaker, mere words cannot convey the horror and shock that a mourning Nation feels today. Neither can they express adequately the sorrow that all Americans must feel at the addi-

tion of still another heavy burden on the Kennedy family.

More than anything else, this violent act dramatizes how desperately our Nation needs a return to respect for law and order. As was said on this floor yesterday, our free society itself is threatened. If we want progress, we must first have order; for without order there can only be anarchy and even greater violence than we have already witnessed in recent months.

Mr. Speaker, passage of the anticrime legislation will provide additional tools for restoring respect for law and order in America but legislation alone can never serve as a panacea for the ills that beset us. Our judicial system must enforce the law; our executive branch must administer it properly; our leaders at every level must set the proper tone and help to reestablish a climate in this country that does not foster or encourage violence and anarchy.

Mr. Speaker, all America can only pray that the tragic and untimely death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy will serve the purpose of helping to restore respect for law and order in our country.

Hon. Hugh L. Carey

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mrs. Carey and my family and all of the people I represent, I extend our deep sympathy, and fervent prayers to Ethel Kennedy, the children of Ethel and our late Senator, Robert F. Kennedy, and to all the Kennedy family in this time of great tragedy. I am trying hard to summon an expression to somehow convey my sense of loss, but no message seems adequate because our loss is so great.

Somehow I am caught up in a reflection that since Robert Francis Kennedy was taken from us in his 42d year, our country will never again be quite so young, so inspired, so filled with conscience. He gave our country youth because he was forever young at heart and always amenable to the newer and better things that rise among the young. He was beginning to reawaken in our country the sense of public conscience. He was rekindling the fires of motivation toward better means for all men to achieve human dignity—fires that have been nearly quenched since his beloved brother, John, was stricken down. It is hard to talk of pity for ourselves when we pay

tribute to a man who would not indulge himself in self-pity or any sense of personal loss, no matter how much was taken from him, or how spitefully his adversaries maligned him. But it is a pity that now we can never know how truly well and worthily we might have been led had he achieved the design for full commitment in the public service that drove him on in his quest for high office. I have watched him grow toward greatness more and more in each of the years I knew him and his growth in understanding, in human appreciation, in determination for good was a tangible characteristic. Now that growth has ended, and we can never know how well he would have led us or how high we could have climbed following his footsteps. Our only hope is that, while we are without his leadership, we cannot be unmindful of the requirements his sacrifice has placed upon us. The goals he set must be met, the path he cut in the wilderness must be traveled, the high ground of compassion and love for each other and a better understanding must be taken.

I know there is a God and I know he has a heaven. As I am certain of this, so too I am certain that all the Kennedys who have gone before—Joseph, John, Kathleen, and little Patrick—and now Robert are together in that heaven. May this be a consolation to his wife and children, to his parents, to his brother and his sisters. To all of us who loved him our hope is that, if we direct ourselves and drive ourselves to do what he would have us do, then we shall not be deprived of his presence forever. If we carry on in his spirit and do some of the things to heal humanity that he was doing in the giving of himself, then perhaps we may merit some measure of the eternal reward that is his today. May that day come for all of us when we can know again as I have known his warm friendship, his young laughter, his keen humor, his firm and solemn faith, his love for the least of men, and his distaste and distrust of evil. May God forgive us for letting Robert F. Kennedy be lost to us and may God reward him for the things he left us that help us now to endure that loss and carry on his kind of life.

It seems so tragic that we have one less Kennedy when we need so many more Kennedy men in our country today. I came to Congress as a Kennedy man. I am a Kennedy man. When I leave this earth, I hope to be a Kennedy man. Being a Kennedy man to me means having a full sense of concern for the young, the weak, the

poor, the downtrodden, and those who suffer injustice. It means having a high sense of resolve in the public service.

I came to be a Kennedy man because I knew Senator Kennedy and his brothers as a friend. I have been in his home and he has been in mine. I have had the privilege of seeing him among young children, and I saw his kindness and tenderness toward young children, his and mine. I have always wondered at those who tried to give him an attribute of ruthlessness. If anyone knew Robert Kennedy and his great heart and his love for the young and the poor and the innocent and those who needed help, he knew this had to be an attribute ill addressed.

As the dean of our delegation, the dean of the House, has said, the time has come for sharp resolution on the part of each of us to carry on as Kennedy men would carry on and to reach the high ground he had chosen—for us, the high ground of new commitment to America, the high ground of peace, the high ground of compassion, to follow him in the path he cut through the jungle of injustice and lack of understanding.

If we do follow his footsteps in this regard, then I believe each of us will depart this earth a little better because we have become more and more Kennedy men.

Hon. Edna F. Kelly
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, words cannot be found to express my personal grief and sorrow over the tragic assassination of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. To his wife, Ethel, and to their children, I pray that God will send all his choicest blessings and graces to bear this cross. To all the Kennedy family, I extend my deepest sympathy.

I hope and pray that the tremendous faith which has sustained the Kennedy family in all of the previous tragedies may be their strength and their solace in this added profound loss.

I have known the Kennedy family for years. The personal courage of the Kennedy sons, and their dedication to the public cause, have carried them forward in service to our country. But the price which they have paid for it has been staggering. I can think of no country, dedicated to the democratic ideals, which has exacted

such a dreadful sacrifice from one of its leading families—and from its political leaders as a whole. Reflecting on the events of the past 5 years, what young men and women, desirous of serving their Nation, will embark upon the road of public office?

The seeds of violence imbedded in our society present a frightful prospect. Unless we look deep into our hearts, and resolve to curb the violence which has come to play such a large part in our daily lives, what will become of America? Will we come to live in a garrison state, with hobbled boots patrolling our streets and order enforced with the butt of a rifle? Let us hope that the divine providence and our own belated concern may save us from this fate.

Once again, our Nation has lost a young and dedicated public servant whose example gave all of us, especially those of us in public life, an inspiration and respect that America's future would be bright. Robert Kennedy had tremendous faith in the abilities of this country to overcome all adversities. He demonstrated this faith in his own personal life. I pray, now most of all that the young people of this Nation will not be dissuaded from entering public service by his tragic death, but instead find the courage from his example of dedicated service to his country and enter into solving the many problems which must be solved if we are to survive and for which he felt so strongly.

The anguish in our hearts knows no bounds. May the faith which has been a fountain of strength of the Kennedy family, and their example, sustain and lead us to a better tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that we will adjourn today out of respect for and in memory of Robert Francis Kennedy.

Hon. Richard S. Schweiker

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, the second tragic assassination in the Kennedy family saddens us all. Claire and I join with all Americans in expressing our deep grief and sorrow with Senator Kennedy's death and with the state of our Nation. Senator Kennedy and his family have made a great contribution to the progress and growth of our country.

The assassinations of President Kennedy, Senator Kennedy, and Dr. Martin Luther King compel each and every citizen of these United States to reexamine himself and to ask himself what our Nation is doing and where are we going.

Tragically, we have become a nation infected with the deadly cancer of physical violence—the violence of political assassination, the violence of mob rule, and the violence of street crimes.

The time for complacency is long past. Those who would have us believe that this tragedy is but an isolated incident are deceiving themselves and misleading America. Now is the time for each and every citizen to search his own soul for answers to our Nation's internal illness.

These times cry for leadership, but they cry as well for the involvement of every citizen in healing the illness which has befallen our land. Instead of building a better America, we have become a bitter America.

It is not enough to mourn Senator Kennedy. We must mourn, too, the state of our Union and resolve, each and every citizen individually, that we shall conquer this illness.

Let us pray that we can arrest the deadly cancer attacking the inner fabric of our Nation. Only by a reversal of this frightening trend can the tragedies of the Kennedys and of Dr. King have some meaning for our Nation's future.

Hon. Edwin E. Willis

OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Willis and I were quite friendly with Senator Kennedy and his good wife Ethel. As a matter of fact, we visited them quite often when he was the Attorney General. So, this morning, when by habit we turned on the radio at 5 a.m. and heard the news flash of his death, it was with a sense of shock and personal grief and personal loss that we realized the passing of Senator Kennedy. However, Mr. Speaker, his good wife, his parents, and his children must derive comfort from the fact that, paraphrasing the 23d Psalm, "Surely mercy and goodness abided with him throughout the days of his life, and now he will dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

Hon. John G. Dow
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, as a Congressman from Senator Kennedy's State of New York, I was a constant beneficiary of his unfailing political support. I had occasion to know him well enough to form a confident judgment about his admirable qualities.

Senator Kennedy was a strong man. While some thought him too forceful at times, yet in these days when weakness is all too prevalent, his strength was a tower in our day.

Senator Kennedy held positive views about the issues of his time—views that were more positive than those of any other leader at the top echelon of our Nation. Particularly I admired his unfailing concern for the hungry in our land and for those who suffered for reasons beyond their control, such as color and race. Especially I admired his positive questioning of the course of violence adopted by our Nation in Southeast Asia and his expressed desire for a reduction of that violence. It is all too ironic that he became a victim of violence himself.

To the entire Kennedy family, those who knew him personally and politically offer our profoundest sympathy.

Hon. Howard W. Robison
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to speak of the new tragedy that has been visited upon the Kennedy family without risking emotion. Their loss—and the Nation's loss—is almost too heavy to bear.

And, yet, a few nights ago a fine Negro high school senior was senselessly gunned down here on a street in Georgetown. The night before last two unarmed, young marine lieutenants were shot and killed in a Washington lunchroom, and nearly every week some 500 American boys give their lives in behalf of some uncertain cause we follow in far-off Vietnam.

All these and others, too, are symbols of our common incapacity to live with one another without suspicion, fear, hatred, and violence. Along with Senator Kennedy, all these and others, too, must be mourned by a guilt- and

grief-stricken nation that, in the name of all humanity, must now rededicate itself to its God-given task of developing a compassionate and orderly society at home and a world of peace and justice abroad.

Mr. Speaker, my heart is too full to say more—and there is really little more that could be said—but I do wish to extend my deepest sympathies, and those of my wife, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, her children, and all the members of the Kennedy family, in this, their further hour of bereavement.

Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, we have all been deeply shocked and saddened to learn of the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. In one senseless act of violence and aberration the Nation has lost a brilliant and dedicated public servant a man of promise and vision, a man imbued with a sense of mission to accomplish the goals essential to meet the difficult challenges and urgent needs of the Nation.

Americans of all colors and creeds, of all political persuasions, have suffered a grievous loss. For no one can doubt the sincere conviction of his belief in the contribution he hoped to make for our country in undertaking his campaign for the Presidency. In his last speech, after his victory in the California primary election on June 4, he said:

We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country. I intend to make that my basis for running.

Perhaps more significant, though, were his remarks before the primary, when he indicated that, if he were defeated in the California primary and as a consequence did not win the Democratic Party's nomination, he would still continue, as a U.S. Senator, to work to improve the direction and effectiveness of our efforts on behalf of our own people and on behalf of mankind around the globe. It was his hope which I know we all share, to end the divisiveness now plaguing the Nation, to eliminate inequities and poverty, and to bring peace and the basic necessities of life to the world.

Mr. Speaker, in 1963 I said, in my statement on the loss of our late great President, John F. Kennedy:

The world—the humanity—and the country he loved and served so well shall never forget him or his name—his aims and aspirations, his noble endeavors and his dedicated efforts for the sake of mankind. He will be a memory forever in the hearts and minds of free men and in the hearts of his countrymen.

These words can speak again today for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who gave so much of himself and who sought with constant courage and dedication to carry forward a similar crusade for equally great ideals.

It is now the solemn duty and obligation of the Congress, and the American people, to move with courage and responsibility, with perseverance and wisdom, to implement the objectives for which he fought and for which he gave his life.

To the bereaved Mrs. Robert Kennedy, and the Kennedy family, who have suffered this tragic loss, I offer my own and my family's deeply felt and profound sympathy.

Hon. J. William Stanton
OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, I think that many of us who live in semiobscurity in public life find it difficult to divide our public life and private lives. Fortunately, my relationship with the late Senator from New York was a personal one and, I know, of a longer standing period of time than any of my colleagues in this particular Chamber.

I happen to have been in his presence when he was introduced to his wife over Christmas vacation in 1947. I had the pleasure of being present when Bob and Ethel went down the aisle on June 17, 1950.

I believe that Congressman Carey best put it when he said that those who knew him well realized that, of all of his personality, the one thing that we never could quite adequately express was his basic shyness. He was, especially in those days, a very shy and very self-conscious person. He was a person who was at his very best in working for somebody else, such as was exemplified on behalf of his brother, for he had no equal as a campaign head. I believe he best expressed it himself in 1965 when he said that the best thing that ever happened to him in his life was marrying his wife, Ethel.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this body, in paying tribute to the late Senator, certainly are expressing their deepest and most profound sympathies to his wife Ethel, in full realization of the soon-to-be 11 children that she will have brought into this world, and that she will bring them up in the true traditions under which her husband lived.

Mr. Speaker, while the late Senator Kennedy was shy, he was indeed a fighter. He liked a battle, and he had the attitude that "I can do anything in life"—and that was from throwing a baseball or football to studying in law school in Virginia at the time when I knew him so well—and he played to win.

I believe that in the example that he has set he leaves a great deal for all of us to think about. He was a compassionate person and a good father.

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues here this afternoon in extending to his wife, Ethel, and to his family, my deepest sympathies. I have lost a friend.

Hon. William F. Ryan
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, we mourn the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York, a dedicated leader who served our Nation with devotion and courage in high public office—Attorney General of the United States, U.S. Senator, and presidential candidate—a man who sought, in the words of his book, a brave new world, and who with zest and conviction carried to the American people his hopes and dreams for a national reconciliation and a just and free society, a society just to the victims of poverty and discrimination and just to the victims of war and oppression.

He dared to dream and frequently quoted from George Bernard Shaw:

Some men dream the dream that was and ask, "Why?"
I dream the dream that never was and ask, "Why not?"

A promising leader whose influence was felt around the world, it was logical that Robert F. Kennedy be not merely the custodian, but rather the executor of his brother's ideals. Whether in Latin America, where he advanced the Alliance for Progress, or in South Africa, where he con-

fronted the obnoxious apartheid system, he understood contemporary issues; for he was a contemporary man.

Mr. Speaker, I cherished his friendship, having been privileged to work closely with him for the past 8 years. Our association started in 1960 during his brother's campaign in New York. I was fortunate to be elected to the House of Representatives in that year, 1960, and to come to Washington with the new Kennedy administration upon which Robert F. Kennedy left his indelible mark.

To his valiant wife, Ethel, and his children, I extend my deepest sympathy, as well as to his brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, and the other members of his family. My heart goes out to them in this hour of grief.

This tragedy recalls events of past months and past years. It mingles with other profound griefs. For the second time in as many months a beloved leader who had held out hope for an ailing society has been struck down, and the whole Nation is numb.

As with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, one cannot find any logic or lesson in such a senseless and wanton murder.

There is little one can say except to point out how desperately Robert F. Kennedy wanted to end the discord and violence, the destructive divisions between rich and poor, black and white, old and young, and to put an end to the deplorable destruction in Southeast Asia. His candidacy represented the hope that all this might finally end. I believe it is appropriate to recall what he said minutes before he was slain:

What I think is quite clear, that we can work together in the last analysis and that that has been going on within the United States, over the period of the last 3 years—the divisions, the violence, the disenchantment with our society; the divisions, whether it's between blacks and whites, between the poor and the more affluent, or between age groups or on the war in Vietnam—is that we can start to work together.

Robert F. Kennedy represented that hope as did his fallen brother. We can only mourn his loss as an irreplaceable man and carry on his work and that of other irreplaceable men struck down by assassins—John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King—and, in the words of another victim of an assassin's bullet, Abraham Lincoln, "bind up the Nation's wounds."

Hon. Henry P. Smith 3d

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending deep sympathy to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and to the United States of America.

When will man learn that if his destiny is to reach the stars, he must first learn to love his neighbor?

In those prophetic and immortal words: "Ask not for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

Hon. Ed Edmondson

OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic day for America.

In the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, our country suffers a grievous loss—the loss of a brave man, a dedicated patriot, a strong leader, an imaginative thinker, an inspiring writer and speaker, and a warm and loyal son, brother, and father in a great family.

Senator Kennedy's life was in large part a life of public service, and the monuments to that service are found on every hand, and will inspire Americans for many years to come.

I speak for all members of our family, and for thousands of Oklahomans, in extending our deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family. Millions of Americans share their grief today.

Hon. James G. Fulton

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, we citizens of Pennsylvania join with the citizens of all America in expressing our sympathy to the family of Robert F. Kennedy. I rise to pay respect to the memory of this great young Senator.

Death should be reserved for older people—it should be a timely end to a life filled with the joys and memories of many years and garnished by the good works and deeds of past days. Death to a young man, already a statesman in his prime, already seeking the nomination for the Presidency of the United States, fills our hearts with grief and our minds with a new sense of tragedy.

Bob Kennedy was a fighter. He was a believer. The combination creates statesmanship, and Senator Kennedy was well on his way when the assassin's bullets took him away from his people. He represented the State of New York in the Senate, but his principles and his political courage made him a man of the Nation. His broad vision and his personal concern for all the people of this country gave Senator Kennedy a following which no other could command.

Without claiming absolute answers to our world problems, Senator Kennedy offered constructive alternatives. In a time of intense pressures, he made foreign policy an open and fertile area for respectable debate. He stood up and spoke out for what he believed and helped to preserve the essence of our democratic process. Bob Kennedy championed the young people; he championed the poor and the disadvantaged. The responsible proponents of change found in him a voice, their voice was heard on the floor of the U.S. Senate and on speaker's platforms throughout the country. His loss is the loss of everyone.

As a Member of this House, it was a real privilege to have known and worked with Robert Kennedy. In his early career as counsel to the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in the Senate, Bob Kennedy assisted in consultations on labor-management contracts in my Congressional District of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Through the arrangements of my good friend and his brother, then Senator Jack Kennedy, Bob took time to meet as counsel with the labor and management leaders I brought from Pittsburgh. He showed an excellent grasp of the distinction between serious, but protracted, negotiations accompanied by strikes and those practices of both business and labor which crossed over into illegality and should have been weeded out of the United States economic system.

Since that time, I have always admired him for his sagacity and abilities as well as his deep concern and interest in the many facets of the fast moving congressional activities.

While we have been of different parties and have taken different positions on many issues, I have nevertheless read Senator Bob Kennedy's statements and have profited by his keen advocacy of alternative viewpoints.

In the type of republic and democratic process we have in the United States, parties are vehicles and our statesmen, such as the President, Cabinet

members, Senators, and Representatives, are the operators of the vehicles. They give the direction and provide the control necessary for the projection of sound future courses of action. It is only on the anvil of this system that the constant give and take necessary to hammer out sound, efficient, and progressive policies can take place so that all Americans can share in the progress of our Nation.

As a participant on most of the recent issues, it is rewarding to give my high respect and every honor to Senator Robert Kennedy and to his memory. Senator Kennedy deserves our respect, honor, and high tribute for his outstanding ability, his devotion to the ideals of American society, and his complete and patriotic dedication to our good country.

Hon. Claude Pepper OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the hearts of the Members of Congress and of the American people are heavy today, that the hand of a dastardly assassin, like the one who a short time ago struck down the Reverend Martin Luther King and another who less than 5 years ago struck down a great President, John F. Kennedy, has now struck down our distinguished and dedicated colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

It is hard for us to realize that no more in life will we hear in the Halls of the Congress and upon the stage of America the charming wit, the fierce intensity of idealism, and the dedicated declarations to his country's service which so often and so long emanated from this eloquent departed colleague.

Robert F. Kennedy was a man unique in America. He came from a home of the rich and he became the champion of the poor.

He came from those who are privileged but he became the hero of those who are underprivileged in America.

He came from among those who had all that was good in an affluent America but he dedicated his life to trying to share those blessings with those less fortunate than he.

His voice will not sound again in the political arena. He will not again raise the battle cry to help those who need help so much in America. But I have the feeling that somehow every one

of those he fought to serve will feel a little greater strength in the future to fight his or her battle by invoking the memory of the fight that Robert F. Kennedy so gallantly waged; and his memory will ever be seen not only among those whom he sought so nobly to serve, but who admired a gallant fighter with unfaltering courage and unwavering faith, who fought with a fierceness unequalled by most, to achieve the ideals and the dreams which moved in his compassionate heart.

Mr. Speaker, we take our leave of our great and brave colleague, Senator Kennedy, as did another of his departed friend in the long ago when the sorrowing Horatio paid his final tribute to his departed friend, Hamlet. As he said—

Good night, sweet prince, and may flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

Hon. Hastings Keith OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the tragic news of Senator Kennedy's death stunned the world already numb from the senseless, wanton deed of an assassin warped with bitterness and hate. My sympathy and prayers are with Mrs. Kennedy and the entire Kennedy family, who have participated so fully in the valiant efforts to define and resolve the issues confronting our Nation.

Yesterday the Nation and the world reeled under the impact of one more manifestation of the mounting wave of crime and lawlessness that threatens to flood our country. The virulent cancer of hate and bitterness that prompted the assassin to strike down Senator Kennedy is gnawing at the very roots of our civilization. In less than 5 years President John F. Kennedy has been gunned down as he rode through the streets; Martin Luther King, who lived and preached nonviolence, has been shot from cowardly ambush; angry and violent men have looted and burned some of our major cities; and now Robert Kennedy, who was a symbol of hope to many of the oppressed of the world, has been murdered by an irrational, hate-filled man.

Mr. Speaker, the Kennedy family has made Hyannis Port on Cape Cod their home for many years, and yesterday my constituents prayed for the speedy and full recovery of one of Cape Cod's best known people. Today they join every decent

man and woman in mourning the loss of a tireless and devoted leader of men, and in renewing their commitment to the survival of our democratic system through treatment of the root causes of bitterness and hatred that are dividing us as a people.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that in the mourning of the loss of a brilliant and compassionate man, one of the most articulate and understanding of our Nation's leaders, our grief-stricken Nation will rededicate itself to finding and cutting out the cancer of hate, violence, and bitterness that has taken the life of Robert F. Kennedy, and threatens to destroy the very fabric of our society.

Senator Kennedy, like his brother, the late John F. Kennedy, leaves a legacy of devoted service to his country and the world. I hope and trust that the terrible deed that has saddened the entire world will give impetus to our quest for law and order, and halt the wave of lawlessness that is striking at the very core of our civilization.

We all hope that America will learn from this terrible tragedy, and that men of good faith and purpose everywhere will resolve to shut hate from their hearts and minds. We hope that love will replace hate, and that love will make this country and this world a better place for people in all walks of life and of all creeds and colors to live and to love and to die in peace and tranquility.

Hon. Richard D. McCarthy OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, like many Members of this body my age, I was inspired to enter public life by the example of the late President John F. Kennedy. I know Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been the source of inspiration to those of a younger generation to join the public service. But what was the final reward for each of these men for their dedication: a bullet in the head.

Yesterday my wife was stopped on the street by a lady who wished to commiserate over the tragedy, and she asked my wife: "Are you not worried about your husband?" There was a time when, if we disagreed with a person in public life, we would vote against him. Now there is a tendency to disagree and show it by shooting a person.

I am glad we are meeting today, and I think

it is important we pass the crime bill, but to me this is a short-range attack, and the most important thing is what the President has done in creating this Commission to study violence in our society. I hope this Commission will delve deeply into the problem that permeates the fabric of our country: the television programs of violence, that I can see affecting my children; the proliferation of firearms, and their ready accessibility; the hate literature that is spread about and inflames the passions of people, and I am sure has inspired mail to each Member of this House, as it has to me, by people who say, "You voted for open housing and, as far as I am concerned, that is the last vote you should ever cast." That is part of the climate that permeates our society.

What can we do about it? I do not know, but I certainly hope and wish well for this Commission appointed by the President, because if the death of Robert Kennedy and John Kennedy can inspire a thorough reappraisal of our values and the inherent structure of our society and can move us to purge this violence from our midst, then perhaps these men will not have died in vain.

Hon. Samuel S. Stratton
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, all of us are overwhelmed today with a very deep sense of shock and sadness at the tragic, senseless, violent, and untimely end that has come to the brilliant career of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

The tragedy is even more overwhelming to us and more difficult to understand because it parallels so closely the tragic end that came to his brother, President John F. Kennedy, 4½ years ago.

One may not agree with all the views of Senator Kennedy to recognize he was a great and brilliant American and that he brought to public life in America a unique and remarkable quality of intensity and dedication. Senator Kennedy proved a particularly brilliant and effective spokesman for his adopted State of New York in the Senate of the United States. His action in the Senate benefited all the people of our State, and wherever he went in New York, either upstate or downstate, he was greeted with an enthusiasm

and affection that no personality in public life—not even his great and distinguished brother—had ever previously matched.

His death comes not only as a loss to the people of our State, but to the people of the Nation as a whole.

Our hearts do go out, as has already been said, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and to their children in this fresh hour of grief.

But I think our concern must also go out to our own country. In this incredible and tragic hour, God save the United States. This Republic of ours cannot possibly endure if the growing wave of violence that is sweeping across our land, and has claimed President Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, and now Senator Robert Kennedy, is to continue. We in this House and in the Government face no more urgent and necessary task than to put an end to the violence and lawlessness that is taking such a heavy toll of our national leaders.

So as we pause to pay tribute to Senator Kennedy, Mr. Speaker, may we resolve to take whatever steps may be necessary to make sure that the senseless violence that cut him down and took him from our midst will soon be exorcised from America forever. Perhaps, as has been said, enactment of the legislation programed for today may be one small step forward in that direction, and in some sense a personal tribute to Senator Kennedy.

Hon. John M. Murphy
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, my wife and I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy, their children, his parents, and the entire Kennedy family, on the most tragic loss of Robert Francis Kennedy.

The entire Congress, all of Government, New York State, the Nation, and the world mourn his loss. We are saddened by the death of so great a leader but take some solace in having known him and benefited for 42 years by his presence.

There was no harder worker, no person more dedicated to the causes for which he stood, no intellect keener, no honor brighter, and no courage stronger than those with which he pursued his every task. His concern for the poor of America and the world, his dedication to resolv-

ing the burning questions of prejudice, ignorance, and hate in this country were genuine and real manifestations of Robert Kennedy that his associates knew so well. His devotion to his duty was equally matched by his devotion to his wife and family.

All of America will watch with pride this new generation of Robert F. Kennedys as they strive to fulfill the ideals which he articulated.

The world will go on. Other leaders will succeed. America will expand and hopefully the world will live in peace, provided more men dedicate themselves as Robert F. Kennedy did to his fellow man.

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, by itself, was a senseless, tragic event just as the slaying of two young marines last Tuesday and the slaying of Dr. King in April were senseless and tragic.

Any of these killings might have taken place in any other country, but that is irrelevant. With or without Senator Kennedy's death, there is an increasing—and alarming—trend toward violence in American society. For all of our civilization and sophistication, we seem to have a particular fascination for violence; we buy our children toy machineguns, and the movie industry has never stopped fighting World War II, Al Capone, or the Indians.

Television, the most influential communication medium of all, is also the most saturated with violence. Night after night one program after the other shows violence of every kind, in great detail, and now in living color. The western gunfight is part of the American way of life.

In the most recent issue of Saturday Review there is an article dealing with this problem of violence on television. The statistics used in that article on the amount of violence on television are very alarming; according to the article, in 1 week there were 77 programs featuring violence of some kind—murder, rape, assault, and so on.

It is obvious, I think, that such programs have a significant impact on the viewing audience—particularly on our younger citizens. The responsibility for programing rests with the networks, but whatever attempts they might be making to reduce the violence on television—if any—it is obvious that they are inadequate.

Therefore, I am calling for an investigation of programing on television to be conducted by the Federal Communications Commission. As a

first step, I am having legislation drafted to direct the Federal Communications Commission to conduct, or to commission, a comprehensive study and investigation of the effects of television violence on the viewing audience.

We cannot continue to tolerate the violence in this society; it must be stopped. Our cherished freedom and liberty means little if our citizens must live in fear.

Hon. Ken Hechler

OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert F. Kennedy had a rare and robust sense of humor which enabled him to be the most human of human beings. He would probably be a little restless if he could hear the solemnity and length of these tributes.

In the spring of 1960, in the hills and hollows of West Virginia, there was a young man from Massachusetts, the late John F. Kennedy, who came down among us to show that tolerance can overcome religious prejudice. With him came his vigorous and principled younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy, who was at his side throughout the crucial West Virginia primary campaign. From the day when victory came on May 10, 1960, the West Virginia battle was known as the primary which made a President, for it truly placed John F. Kennedy on the road to the White House.

During that 1960 primary, West Virginians came to know and love the Kennedy family. On many occasions since then, Robert F. Kennedy returned to West Virginia, always to be greeted by the acclaim of thousands of grateful West Virginians who will never forget what President Kennedy and his family have done for the Mountain State.

Just before Easter of 1968, Senator Kennedy interrupted his primary campaign in Indiana to return for what proved to be his last visit to West Virginia. Prior to his arrival, I issued the following public statement:

West Virginia welcomes the return of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Although I have not yet publicly committed myself to any candidate for President, I admire Senator Kennedy's approach to public issues, and intend to accompany him on his appearances in West Virginia.

Senator Kennedy's airplane landed at Beckley, W. Va. It was Good Friday. Hundreds of Senator Kennedy's admirers thronged the airport

to greet him, to express their support, to listen to his inspiring words.

Senator Kennedy was the only candidate for President of either party who spent more than 1 day in West Virginia, who visited more than one city, who went out among the people instead of concentrating his activities on the political leaders or the convention delegates. West Virginians gave him a tumultuous welcome.

The last West Virginia trip which Senator Kennedy took was labeled a "sentimental journey." It was really something more than that. He visited many large and small communities in southern West Virginia, throughout half a dozen different counties. Sometimes in his shirtsleeves, always with unfailing high humor, constantly on the move, shaking hands, inspiring, expounding, setting forth his program, he drew great and enthusiastic crowds. He gave a great lift to everyone he saw. They flocked from miles around to grasp his hand.

To the young people of West Virginia and America, Senator Kennedy had a special place. He knew how deeply they were concerned, frustrated, and angered by the sacrifice which America's manhood was making in the fruitless war in Vietnam. He knew that it was difficult for America's youth to comprehend the vast difference between promises and performance, between ideals and realities, between professed aims and actual conditions. Senator Kennedy's high standing with young people was his ability to rise anew and on high the torch of American idealism, to articulate the opposition of young America to the war in Vietnam, and to express better than any other man in public life the aspirations of young people everywhere.

Throughout the Nation, Senator Kennedy put his finger on the basic problems of modern society. He had an instinct for the jugular in defining the dimensions of the sickness which grew out of intolerance, hate, poverty, bloodshed, and war. He recognized that there are groups of people in this Nation who really aspire to higher and greater things, and he wanted to give them, not gifts on a silver platter, but the opportunity to better themselves.

Truly, Senator Kennedy awakened the conscience of America.

In West Virginia and the Nation, we shall remember him and draw inspiration from all the great causes in which he participated. We can

pay our tributes best not with words but with deeds, in working for what he stood for—tolerance, brotherhood, courage, love, fairplay, and above all, peace throughout the world.

Hon. Richard L. Ottinger

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Robert Francis Kennedy, a personal friend, an outstanding Senator from my State of New York, a distinguished Attorney General, the candidate of my choice for the Presidency of the United States.

I join in extending sympathy to his wife, to his children, and to his entire family, on behalf of myself, my wife Betty Ann, and my constituents. God knows, this wonderful family has had more than its share of personal tragedy and grief.

Earlier today I made a motion to adjourn the House out of a very strong and sincere feeling that, in the wake of this national tragedy, it is inappropriate that we should do business as usual. I know the House has never adjourned because of the death of any other Senator, and I am told that the Senate in fact is in session today.

This is no usual situation. A candidate for the Presidency of the United States has been assassinated. The President of the United States has felt it necessary to assign Secret Service security guards for all the other candidates for President. Nothing like this has ever before happened in this country, that candidates for highest office need to be protected for fear of their lives. What a sorry state of affairs it is.

Out of respect for the murdered Senator and his family, all the other candidates for the Presidency from both political parties have suspended their own activities.

Furthermore, this national tragedy of assassination of a presidential aspirant, Robert Kennedy, follows in the footsteps of the assassination of his brother, the great late President John F. Kennedy. History repeats itself in a manner which has horrified the Nation and the world, and has brought us all to grief.

In these exceptional circumstances, an exception should be made. It does not seem right to go on with our business. Certainly, I have no stomach for proceeding in this hour of grief and tragedy.

I know a majority of this House disagreed with me, and I respect the feelings of these Members. I know they respect the memory of Robert Kennedy as much as I.

Many of them feel that the crime bill we are to consider today is a very important measure relating to the circumstances affecting the death of Robert Kennedy, particularly its gun-control provisions, limited as they are. It is a bill which I intend to support despite the fact that I feel it has some deficiencies, in the effort to try to deal with the violence and lawlessness which in a very real way make up the background for the assassination of great leaders like Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, and Robert Kennedy.

I fail to see why we could not pass the crime bill next week, however.

I know, too, that many Members want to take the opportunity to eulogize the late Senator, and I join in this. But this, too, could well have waited.

However, I understand the feelings of those who want to do these things today, albeit I disagree with them. I join them in their testaments and in considering a measure on the subject of crime in which the late Senator was truly interested.

Robert Kennedy stood strongly against the violence and lawlessness with which this bill attempts to deal. He tried to remove the hate and divisiveness in this country by standing for progress on behalf of the poor, on behalf of the neglected, on behalf of youth, and on behalf of all people who feel deprived and alienated from their society.

The best tribute that we can pay to our late Senator is to carry on in his tradition, to carry on his efforts, and in his words, "to make America better." We must exert every effort in his name to return to a way of life based on respect for law and laws that all Americans can respect.

Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, we shall all miss Robert Kennedy. Those of us who loved and admired him will miss him most, but even those who reviled him will miss him too.

Robert Kennedy was not a man you could be indifferent about. He was one of the most fas-

cinating and complex personalities I have ever known. He brought excitement to the national political scene. By many, I believe, he was misunderstood, but no one was bored by him.

Fully to describe his qualities would be an impossible task. To attempt to do so would require many hours. I would just like to mention a few of these qualities: his courage, his wit, his extraordinary vitality, his modesty—a modesty strangely coupled with great confidence in his ability to lead and to serve—his tenderness toward those he loved, his understanding of the ways of the world and of the needs of this country. Most of all I will remember the depth of his feeling about the desperate problems that face our Nation and the strength of his determination to do something about them.

For his wonderful wife, Ethel, and for his children and for all his family, we can only express the hope that they can find some comfort in the thought of how much he was able to do for his country and the world in the course of a short life. May they also in the future be able to find some comfort in the thought that his life and his tragic death will in time lead to a more vigorous pursuit of his ideals by his countrymen.

Hon. Robert N. Giaimo

OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, words cannot express the sadness that engulfs me today. We have lost a friend and leader. The Nation and the world have lost a man who offered the promise of great things to come.

Senator Kennedy was a fatalist. He had lived with tragedy and had said many times that he would accept what the future offered. Now the country is united in its suffering with his brave and gifted family. God has given them much and taken away much. Only he can understand why they must suffer so. It is beyond the comprehension of mere mortals.

That this gifted man was taken from us through the same senseless action which claimed our beloved late President merely compounds the tragedy. He is another victim of the violence which has characterized this decade of discontent. Where will it end, Mr. Speaker? Are men who believe passionately in justice and good and who choose to place their views before the

public doomed to live with the ever-present threat of violent death? Are the attitudes of the extremists on the right and the left who condone and tacitly encourage violence to dominate our national life?

Robert Kennedy is now with the two he served so well in life, his brother and his God. We have left the memory of his compassion for the poor of the world, his passionate belief that if men really tried they could bring about a change in the world, his view that the United States was the "last, best hope of mankind." It is not much, Mr. Speaker, but it is something.

Today I can only think of the words of the Irish poet, William Butler Yeats:

Things fall apart,
The center cannot hold,
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

To his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, his wife, Ethel, his brother and sisters, and his children, I offer my condolences and the condolences of my constituents. I shall pray for his everlasting soul.

Hon. Andrew Jacobs, Jr.

OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, at the time of President Kennedy's death, Governor Stevenson said that President Kennedy was "so contemporary a man, so involved in our world, so intense a participant in the great events of our day, that he seemed to be the very symbol of vitality and exuberance, which is the essence of life itself."

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, that reference by Governor Stevenson applies precisely also to the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many Americans realize how much we needed Robert Kennedy. He carried abroad to all the world the image of America as a young, vital nation of idealism. This was true in Poland; it was true in Japan; and it was true wherever he visited. That is the kind of image that every American might hope we would have.

When Senator Kennedy spoke of his departed brother at the Democratic Convention in 1964, he said:

When I think of President Kennedy I think of the words of Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine—
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun."

That is the way all of us who loved Robert Kennedy would hope that he would be remembered also.

Hon. Brock Adams

OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Speaker, I thank the dean of the House for yielding to me at this time.

I particularly want to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Jacobs]:

When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine—
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Today it is hard for some of us as we look around the Chamber to recognize those who have been with us in support of Senator Kennedy, because it is hard to see through your tears. Maybe we were sometimes wrong, but perhaps we can be forgiven for our wishing for a return to Camelot.

Some of us came into politics in the 1960's and others in the 1950's, led by the Kennedys. We were inspired, and after the death of John Kennedy, we picked up the pieces of a dream and, though many felt we should not try again, we have tried to go forward. This past makes today so very, very difficult.

Because of this past I would like to talk for a moment today to the young who are so hurt, to the disaffected in our society who are discouraged, and to those who were in the Department of Justice, when we all served with Bob Kennedy in the 1960's. Particularly those of us who served then could not understand why some could use the terms "ruthless," and "opportunist," because this was not Bob Kennedy. Strength—yes, and always a basic integrity but also fundamental shyness, and a deep capacity for camaraderie and loyalty. As was expressed so very well by the gentleman from Ohio, all of us knew that this was a compassionate, kind man with a wry sense of humor.

So today, Mr. Speaker, some of us are here to

say to his family how much we appreciated him, how glad we are that he was here, how much we will miss him, and we also probably ask a little bit of forgiveness for not having done a little more for him. We believed in him. We believe in his principles. We believe in the enlightenment and the desire for justice and the belief in our society that he so strongly maintained.

Yes, this is a society of laws—but it is also a society of men; it is a society of men who say we will try, and we believe, and we are here, and we will struggle, and we will be responsible. In doing these things sometimes it is difficult; sometimes one may seem to be on the wrong side. Sometimes people may criticize but strong, enlightened men are the vital ingredient that make a democratic system work.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we remember and that we live with the things that he said just before he was killed, which was that we must change our society. We must be willing to establish new policies. Those of us who are affluent must understand that the Nation has given much to us, and that the Nation should be given a chance to provide from its great bounty for all of our people.

There is a void of leadership in the lives of many of us in the world today. I hope this void will be filled, but it will take time, and we will have to look hard. We shall miss Senator Kennedy very much as a symbol, as a leader, and as a friend.

So on behalf of Betty, myself, and the children—and particularly my little boys who believed in him so deeply—we want to express and extend our deepest sympathies to the entire Kennedy family, and especially to Mrs. Kennedy and children.

Hon. M. G. (Gene) Snyder
OF KENTUCKY

Mr. Speaker, earlier today, I expressed to this House the sympathy of my family and my constituents to the Kennedy family.

But, Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I neglected to read to the House the statement of His Excellency the Most Reverend Richard H. Ackerman, bishop, of the diocese of Covington, Ky.

Bishop Ackerman's statement and holy blessing reads as follows:

The death of New York's able Senator Robert Kennedy and distinguished American citizen has occasioned great personal sorrow and sense of grief for the faithful of the diocese of Covington, its clergy, religious and its laity.

The hand of the assassin has robbed us once again of a leader capable of achieving much good and lasting benefit for the country and all its people. This fact, chilling and appalling as it is for all of us, is telling evidence of the tremendous disregard for law and lack of esteem for authority that exists throughout our Nation, among all categories of its people.

Robert Kennedy was in a sense an apostle of respect for law and the achievement of the good order which it engenders. If his untimely death contributes even in smallest measure to an awakening of a sense of responsibility in the hearts and minds of all Americans, young and old alike, then he shall not have died in vain.

May God grant eternal rest to the departed soul of Robert Kennedy. And may He give to us who remain the courage and determination to walk in the ways of His commandments, hearing no evil because He is with us.

Hon. William L. Hungate
OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic hour. Our country is less for the loss we have suffered by reason of the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. However, we are stronger because of the life that he led.

Mr. Speaker, what can we say to his family, and particularly to his children, for the gift—a most precious gift—they have given our country, the gift of their father and his service to America?

Let us in this body, who were privileged to know him and his work, and to know the particular depth of his love of his country, seek to impart some idea of that to our fellow countrymen.

If all Americans can come to love this country half as much as he did, then freedom's future is certainly assured.

Hon. Wayne L. Hays
OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, I know that every Member of this body, and I suppose every sane American, feels shocked and horrified at the senseless and outrageous assassination of Senator Kennedy. Not everyone agreed with him, but everyone, I think, can honestly say that he made a contri-

bution, and a great contribution, to American political life.

Many people have asked me in the last few hours: What is happening to this country? I must say, I cannot give them an answer, but I do think there is a growing sense of tolerance for violence and a loss, it seems to me, of a sense of outrage at violence.

Somehow or another we are not only going to have to regain our sense of balance, where these things are concerned, but we are going to have to, somehow or another, have a more objective outlook upon the kind of people who perpetrate these terrible crimes. They must be punished and promptly.

Almost lost in the sense of shock we feel at the assassination of Senator Kennedy was the murder of two young marines in this city on the same night—two young Americans whose names I do not know, who were shot down in cold blood by people who did not know them at all and who had no knowledge that they even existed until a few seconds before they were murdered.

Somehow or other we have got to remove from America the tolerance that we seem to have built up for this kind of outrageous crime—the assassination of one of our great Senators, the assassination of two young Americans in uniform.

I do not know the answer. Many people are groping for it. I suppose it was perhaps expressed as well by my little daughter at breakfast yesterday as by anyone, when she said, "Daddy, why would anybody do this?"

We do not know the answer, but we have got to find the answer and we have got to correct it. And if we do not, all of the great men who have worked for this great democracy of ours will have worked in vain, because a society of the kind we want to build cannot endure in a climate such as this.

My deepest sympathies go out to the wife, the children, and the relatives of Senator Kennedy. As someone said privately to me a moment ago, "Let us hope that this family does not have to endure any more than it already has."

Hon. Robert L. Leggett
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, it is my treasured privilege to have campaigned just a few days ago, last Friday and

Saturday, with Bob, Ethel, and Ted Kennedy in California. I met Bob's train at Stockton, Calif. Nearly 10,000 people turned out to welcome him. We traveled to Lodi and then to Sacramento, seeing better than 25,000 Californians who were also concerned Americans.

Bob had an infectious smile and wit, and while he expressed himself on policies, on a balanced foreign policy in Southeast Asia and around the world, he also took time to poke fun at his adversaries. He expressed the hope of the future that excellence in leadership could provide understanding and conciliation both within this country and between the races and outside the country among our enemies.

Though Bob Kennedy won the election yesterday in California, the prospects for his ultimate success never looked very good to obtain the presidential nomination. Last Friday, as this young man in California traveled up the Central Valley, things did not look very good. It is rather ironic that this man should be called "ruthless," "cunning," and "grasping." He chose to declare for President of the United States with an anti-labor leader record, a Catholic, an intellectual without a university backing, declaring against the President of the United States at a time of war. This is the man that we call "ruthless." He trembled slight with fatigue at the rear of the train as he expressed himself in city after city for a new America.

He was impressed with the enthusiasm of the crowds, but privately he expressed trepidation at the future prospects of success. The Vice President looked very, very formidable. This man who was "ruthless" was concerned that his party under the Vice President would be so splintered that ultimately they could not succeed.

I asked him if in the interest of a unified party, and perhaps with a modified foreign policy, he would contemplate, if the inevitable occurred, being the second man on that ticket. This "cunning" man, this "ruthless" man never said no. As we traveled further through the Central Valley, through urban Sacramento, and sat together at the back of the train, we looked out and we saw a crowd of boys playing ball. The train was traveling very slowly. He stood up and waved and they waved back.

He said, "Guys, never run for President of the United States." And then we laughed, because we

all knew he was joking. This was part of his makeup.

The unfortunate thing is that, unlike Bob's brother Jack, this country is never really going to know Bob, is never going to understand the leadership that has been lost to our generation. It is unfortunate that Congress really is powerless to legislate away and legislate out of existence the senseless act that took his life.

To his courageous wife and family, I merely say that the Nation shares in your sorrow.

Hon. John J. Flynt, Jr.
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, I feel that I speak for the people of the State of Georgia, as well as for myself, when I express profound sorrow and a very deep regret at the senseless and tragic act of violence which destroyed the life of Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from New York. During a public career of 15 years, Bob Kennedy demonstrated almost unlimited energy with qualities and attributes of national and political leadership. Not all of us agreed with him all of the time, but he was a man possessed of a strong and keen intellect, which was sharpened by experience.

In the hours which have intervened since we first learned of this unbelievable act in Los Angeles early Wednesday morning, both my sons have called me and have talked to me about this. Naturally they ask of me the same questions which I know have been asked of nearly everyone here. Those questions were: How could a thing like that happen? Why did it happen? And, of course, I could give no answer. I can give no answer today.

However, I would say this: This may be a by-product or an end product of an era of lawlessness and violence, and disregard for law and order and discipline. It may be that when high officials seem to approve of and even to encourage violence and lawlessness and, yes, demonstrations which either are violent in themselves or which approach violence, that such encouragement may be taken by individuals with deviated personalities as an invitation to them to participate also in crime, and acts of violence, even including the murder of a Member of the Senate of the United States.

I do not think the words of John Donne have

ever seemed truer than they must seem to most of us here today:

And therefore never send to know for whom the bell
tolls;
It tolls for thee.

On behalf of Mrs. Flynt and our children, I extend to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children and to the other members of the Kennedy family, our heartfelt sympathy in their sorrow and at a time of another great loss.

Hon. Patsy T. Mink
OF HAWAII

Mr. Speaker, my heart aches today as I begin to realize that a man I admired so much is no longer to be with us. As he served to inspire us when he was alive, so he will continue to inspire us as did the late President John F. Kennedy. Few men in public life have captured the soul and spirit of our democracy as did Senator Robert F. Kennedy. His death has made us all the poorer, for we shall not be hearing his moving plea for peace and for justice; yet, we are all the richer for having known him if even for such a short moment.

For our youth he stood as a champion of what is right; for our poor he stood for hope and for freedom from their despair; for our minorities he challenged the status quo and gave them the desire to persevere in their struggle for equality and for opportunity; for the people of America he symbolized the finest ideal of government by the people and achieved a dialog with his beloved Nation unparalleled in our history.

Robert Francis Kennedy stood for love and brotherhood. After the agony of this day has softened to grief, let us stand in his place to continue in his great effort to make America better, to preserve our cherished liberties, to assure justice and equality to all, to be unafraid to stand up for what we believe is right and good, to discredit hate, distrust and suspicion and to banish it forever from the stream of public dialog, and to return to the causes which caused him to risk his life for the love of our country.

On behalf of myself, my husband and my daughter, whose love for the Senator was without bounds, I extend our heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved widow and to his children and to his entire family.

Hon. Spark M. Matsunaga

OF HAWAII

Mr. Speaker, the tragic assassination of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy leaves a vast emptiness in American political life, one which can never be fully refilled.

Like his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, Senator Kennedy displayed unusual compassion for the poor, the downtrodden, the disadvantaged, and pursued his personal convictions with a profile of courage which has inspired those about him and which will continue to inspire generations of Americans yet unborn.

Mr. Speaker, if it is true that God moves in mysterious ways, that mystery is compounded by His taking from our midst the young, energetic, promise-laden Robert Francis Kennedy.

Why? Why? Why? we cry aloud and quietly in our aching hearts, searching for an answer.

Perhaps it was God's purpose to lead us to this search by deigning such a tragic event. Let us then concern ourselves with some sober soul-searching in the hope of finding the answer.

Mr. Speaker, for the people of Hawaii, for Mrs. Matsunaga and myself I express my deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to his courageous widow, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, to his children, to his brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, to his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, and to the rest of that great American family. May they find some comfort in the fact that all Americans and all people throughout the world share their loss and sorrow.

Hon. Roman C. Pucinski

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I share the great esteem for Senator Kennedy held by all of those who have spoken here today. Senator Kennedy was a frequent visitor to the city of Chicago. I know of few Americans who were always greeted as warmly and as enthusiastically wherever they went in Chicago, as the late Senator Robert Kennedy. He had this great respect of the people because even though he came from the eastern seaboard, he had a great understanding of

the Midwest and he loved the people of the Midwest and the various ethnic groups that he found in the city of Chicago. He was also loved by them. Wherever he went he was greeted with great applause and enthusiasm. I remember he was in my district in 1966, and all of the men with me at that time, veterans of the political scene, never recalled as enthusiastic a reception for any single American as was given to Robert Kennedy when he visited the northwest side of Chicago. It is the irony of our time that 48 hours ago this brilliant young American was hopefully reaching for the Presidency of the United States with all the qualifications that that difficult job requires. Instead, if we look 48 hours ahead, we see him being buried in Arlington Cemetery.

Mr. Speaker, I think one thing should be made clear today. Sirhan Bishara Sirhan not only committed a hideous crime against Senator Kennedy and his family, but he has also committed a monstrous crime against every single American in these United States. This crazed killer, with a gun in his hand and two bullets made a decision that rightfully belongs to the American people. With two bullets he denied the people the right that they have to make their collective decision at the ballot box. I say his crime was against all of us, because he has made a mockery of democracy. What good is freedom, what good is a republic, what good is a democracy when our society permits a system under which one killer like this can frustrate the will of a great Nation and take away from our people with two bullets the right of the people to decide who is going to be the next President of the United States?

Today I voted against the motion to adjourn this House. I voted that way because I wanted to have an opportunity to vote on the crime bill this afternoon. I honestly feel that by passing this legislation today we will start on the way toward restoring law and order in this country. Hopefully in the remaining days of this Congress, it is my prayer that we will enact legislation which will restore this country to its glory and its glamor so that when this Congress adjourns we can look back at the contribution of John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and the legacy that they left us and say to the American people, yes, we shall return to Camelot.

Hon. James G. O'Hara
OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have had an opportunity to play a minor part in so many enterprises in which the late Senator Robert Kennedy played a major role.

The thing that impressed me most about Senator Kennedy was his zeal and dedication to a cause. When he found a situation which seemed to him to be wrong, he not only was determined to set it right, but he always was completely convinced that it could be set right. He believed there was no problem that the American people could not face and solve if the people of the country had their attention directed to it, and had courageous and intelligent leadership.

Mr. Speaker, in the pursuit of these goals, Senator Kennedy was absolutely tenacious. He would not give up. He would try everything. And, if everything failed, he would try something else.

Mr. Speaker, these are qualities that all of us should admire; these are the qualities of America; these are the qualities so characteristic of the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

Mr. Speaker, with the tragic loss of a great man, American society has suffered a blow which it can ill afford.

I would hope that the tragic death of Senator Kennedy will lead this country to adopt the same tenacious will to set things right. I hope that this country will find and root out the causes of, and the reasons for, depraved violence, like that which cost the Senator his life. Perhaps that would be the best enterprise to which we could dedicate ourselves as a memorial to a great American, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

Hon. Fletcher Thompson
OF GEORGIA

Mr. Speaker, at a time such as this I know words must seem hollow indeed to the survivors of Senator Kennedy. However, I know that the heart of America goes out to his family, a family which has unfortunately been one plagued with tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, this Kennedy family will certainly go down in history as being one of the

outstanding families that we have seen in America for the gifts that they have given, the gifts that they have given not only in a monetary manner, but through their minds and ability, and their great sense of determination.

I think the factor that impressed me most with the late Senator Kennedy was his determination and the fact that he would stick to the job, because he would not quit, he would not give up, regardless of what the odds were.

Mr. Speaker, I, my wife, and my children offer our prayers and our deep sympathy to the Kennedy family in this, their very grave hour of sorrow.

Hon. Thomas E. Morgan
OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has aroused the deepest grief and sorrow in the hearts of all Americans. His sincere dedication to public service, his youthful zeal and enthusiasm, and his steadfast adherence to American ideals, had won for him the admiration and affection of his fellow citizens, regardless of race, creed, or political party. It is especially sad that his genuine liking for his fellow men, and his campaigning on a people-to-people basis made it easier for an assassin to strike his treacherous blow. The hand that fired the fatal shots committed an abhorrent crime not against poor Senator Kennedy alone, but against his loved ones and equally against our free society and all of us who compose it. I find it hard to express the mixture of anger, regret, and sorrow that this terrible deed has caused me to feel. As a doctor, I am inclined to think in terms of health. The assassination of the Senator's brother, President John F. Kennedy, the more recent equally senseless murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, and now that of Senator Kennedy, together with other acts of cruel and stupid violence, show that there is a segment of our society which is sick indeed. The minds of such assassins and those who help breed hatred, are diseased indeed. Our society cannot be healthy until proper remedies are applied. I commend the President for his appointment of a commission to examine this critical problem. It can't bring the Senator back to his family and to us, but hopefully it may

point the way to preventing further repetitions of these terrible and senseless murders.

My heart goes out to Senator Kennedy's widow, to his children and to his bereaved parents. As a citizen, I have an indescribable feeling of sadness and shame that in our wonderful country two fine sons of the same generation of a patriotic family should have their careers ended by the cowardly attacks of abnormal-minded individuals. To all the Kennedy family I wish to express my most heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy. To my other fellow Americans I wish to state that I share their profound sadness and regret and indignation.

Hon. Jack Brooks

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing our deepest sympathy to Ethel Kennedy, the Kennedy children, and to all of the members of the late Senator Robert Kennedy's family.

The tragic death of the Senator from New York brings to all Americans a feeling of shock and dismay. We know the grief that his family feels. However, I am confident that their sorrow will be tempered in future years by the knowledge of his dedicated service to our country.

He had spent virtually all of his life in service to our Nation and he left his mark on our Government and our political process.

He was a man well able to live out his life in luxurious disinterest, but he chose instead a life of public service. His success in that endeavor is self-evident.

He has joined his brothers, Joseph and John, in making the ultimate sacrifice for our country.

Hon. Glenn Cunningham

OF NEBRASKA

Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day for America. It is impossible to describe the feeling of sadness I have about the death at the hands of an assassin of Senator Kennedy, my colleague in Congress. I have always held Senator Kennedy in high regard as I did his brother, the President. My heartfelt sympathy goes out to the Kennedy family. They have suffered so very much. It is

so sad that one family could be asked to bear such a double tragedy.

The mood in the House of Representatives is varied—there is shock, sadness and anger at the terrible thing that has befallen our country.

I believe it is finally becoming obvious to the people that there are sick minds in this country and that much of the problem can be blamed on the overall atmosphere created by bad reading material, the constant parade of killings and violence on our TV programs, pornography in the mail and on the newsstands, and moneymaking by violent movies that glorify crime. All of these things add up to a sick atmosphere and sick minds and lead to the horrible crimes America has been inflicted with.

I believe the Supreme Court must bear a great deal of responsibility for the atmosphere prevailing in the United States and for the crimes because of their recent outrageous decisions. In their interest to protect the criminal they have failed to care about the great body of upright law-abiding citizens.

As for legislation, we passed a strong anticrime bill in the House of Representatives last year, and we have just recently gotten it back from the Senate where it has been held up by the liberals. The ACLU has been fighting it, but I am certain we have the votes and we are going to send it to the President immediately. And, I say it is about time. We also passed a strong anticrime bill last year for the District of Columbia which the President vetoed.

I believe the President's action last night in appointing a commission to look into the causes of violence in America is to be lauded. I do not know what they will be able to accomplish but I do know that the President has appointed good men like our Senator Hruska, of Nebraska, to look into this tragedy of our time. I suspect, however, that they will find somewhere in their investigation indications that the things I have been preaching against and fighting for years are contributors to the atmosphere of violence which has prevailed in the United States. I believe they will find that the courts have created an atmosphere which makes the protection of the criminal seem to be a popular thing to do. They will find that dirty books, violence on television, pornography and cheap films are harmful to young minds.

Something has to be done about it and the average man can help.

Our people—all of them—can show their respect for our laws by supporting local law enforcement officers and the efforts of our elected officials who insist on evenhanded and sure justice by the police and by the courts.

I believe that we can change the atmosphere in America which leads to crime. It will be difficult but we can do it. We must get hold of ourselves, pull together, and turn our backs on the liberal do-gooders who must bear much of the blame for this and other tragedies.

Hon. Frank M. Clark

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy saddens all of us who knew him personally and served with him in Congress.

It also is a loss to the Nation and indeed to the world. Few men in public life were so well and so widely known and respected as was Senator Kennedy.

His passing is a major blow to the so-called little man in this country. Senator Kennedy was in the forefront of the fight to better the economic and social status of the underprivileged and the needy. He well deserved the title of champion of the poor. Despite his own personal wealth, he understood the problems of the needy and aggressively tried to solve them.

My deepest sympathy and that of my family go to Mrs. Kennedy and the Kennedy family in this time of tribulation.

Hon. Neal Smith

OF IOWA

Mr. Speaker, like the others who have and will make statements today, I am, of course, very saddened and feel great anguish in my heart at the tragic event and the death of this young statesman who dedicated his life to public service and who could have easily rendered another 30 years of service to the Nation and the world. He had a great desire and used unbounded energy in any way he thought would help to eliminate the inequities in American life. He gave so much of himself and had great faith in our system and in the idea that public servants could do more to meet the problems of our time. There is really

no way to express the deep grief and sorrow that all of us have today, but certainly we hope this family, which has paid such a staggering price in return for the public service they have rendered, will carry on. To his family I extend my deepest sympathy.

Hon. Edna F. Kelly

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, today we mourn the passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the junior Senator from the State of New York.

At the moment of victory in the California Democratic presidential primary, he was felled by an assassin's bullet.

The tragedy of the violent death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, was again visited upon our Nation.

Our hearts are torn with anguish, our heads bowed in shame. What violence, what irrationality, have possessed this great people that we would exact such a dreadful price for those who aspire to serve our Nation in the highest political office?

The answer to this question is not fully clear. But we know, at least in part, in which direction it lies.

Respect for law and order, and the protection of public safety, are the first steps in that direction.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 may not be a perfect statute but it is most certainly a vitally necessary instrument for the achievement of those objectives.

This bill must be enacted into law without further delay. The House of Representatives has to act—and act now.

Mr. Speaker, you cannot have progress without some semblance of order. You cannot have freedom without responsibility. You cannot achieve a better society by destroying society itself and the law, which is the foundation of our freedom.

I urge the House to wait no longer. I urge that the anticrime bill be enacted today.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has been seized of this legislation for a very long time.

The House of Representatives has approved it and the Senate has approved it. But then the issue was joined over a series of amendments attached to this bill in the Senate.

There are Members in this House—and I am one of them—who do not like some or all of the Senate amendments.

The chairman of the Judiciary Committee, my colleague from New York, Representative Emanuel Celler, has been opposed to the Senate amendments. He has been quoted as saying that he was ready to "sacrifice" the bill in order to get rid of them.

Yesterday, he said on the floor of the House that the Senate bill "was adopted through fear."

And he has endeavored to get the bill into a conference, where he could try to work his will upon it.

The House rejected that proposal yesterday by a vote of 317 to 60. That vote was the decision to bring the bill to its enactment without further delay.

I do not think that any one Congressman or any one committee has the right to delay or to sacrifice legislation because of possible objectionable features.

Disregard of the will of the people and of this body's previous actions is, to me, unacceptable.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman Emanuel Celler, in opposing the Senate amendments to the anticrime bill, told the House yesterday that our Nation is "encapsulated in fear."

I do not know anything about "encapsulated" but I do know something about crime and what it does to law-abiding citizens.

The New York Times reported on May 29 that crime in New York City in the month of April alone increased by 27 percent.

How about some concern for the victims of this crime wave? The shopkeepers that are robbed, the people that are attacked in our streets and parks, the homeowners and apartment dwellers who must seek safety behind locked doors?

How long must they wait for the restoration of law and order?

Are they not entitled to effective protection in the communities which they inhabit? Why has the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives permitted crime to become a national crisis before acting?

I have long been a devoted and active supporter of civil rights for all persons, all minorities, and all groups. Support for civil rights has been and is my position.

I think, however, that in our zeal to support

individual rights we have too often confused the rights of the criminal with the rights of the public.

It is axiomatic that two of the most basic rights of any citizen are his right to be secure in his home and to walk the street in safety. When those rights are not enforced, innocent hard-working citizens suffer. Such a situation is not civil liberty. It is an introduction to lawlessness and anarchy.

Mr. Speaker, which programs would fall by the wayside if the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 were to be rejected preemptorily? Assistance to local communities for the improvement and strengthening of law enforcement at the local and State levels; Federal control of wiretapping; firearms control; and other much-needed programs and proposals.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the anticrime bill in its present form is not perfect. For instance, I believe that the section on gun control is inadequate. By limiting its coverage only to handguns and excluding rifles and shotguns, the bill falls far short of the effective firearms control legislation that is so urgently needed.

I hope and trust that in the near future a stronger firearms control law will be enacted which will include the substance of my bill, H.R. 11616, the State Firearms Control Assistance Act of 1967. My bill would stop the interstate mail-order sale of all firearms; limit sales of all weapons, except for rifles and shotguns, to persons living in the State where the sale is made; and establish a national minimum age for the legal purchase of weapons. The tragic death of many of our leaders today is certainly evidence of this need.

But despite the weaknesses in the anti-crime bill before us today, we must stop stalling and act now.

Mr. Speaker, it is within the power of this House to move this legislation toward prompt enactment. The country is waiting for it. Let us not fail to do our duty.

Hon. Henry B. Gonzalez
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, once again our Nation stands in shock and sorrow at the sudden and violent loss of a vibrant, promising young leader, a man of

vigor and promise, a man filled with potential and the energy to realize it. Robert F. Kennedy was from a remarkable and distinguished family. Ambassador and Mrs. Kennedy devoted a good part of their lives to public service, and expected the same of their sons. The eldest son died in World War II, and his younger brother John nearly died in that same conflict, half a world away. John Kennedy became a Member of this House, later a Member of the Senate, then President of the United States. His brother, Robert, who we mourn today, served on Senate committees as counsel, later as Attorney General of the United States, and then as a Senator himself. The only surviving son is now Edward Kennedy, now himself a distinguished Senator. I doubt that any family in our Nation's history has produced so many men who have served in such high offices, and to have as a great part of its reward recurrent tragedy. All these young men have given their lives willingly, but their loss is no less tragic for it.

My heart is filled with sorrow and compassion for Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and for Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, who have known far more than a just burden of grief and tragedy. I likewise extend my heartfelt sympathy to Senator Edward Kennedy, and to his sisters.

Murder motivated by political fanaticism or misguided zeal has become all too familiar to us. I remember with great pain the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and how I vowed that such a tragedy should never recur. Yet, here today the Nation stands once more shrouded in mourning, wounded by the effort of a man driven by incomprehensible motives. We have been deprived of a young leader of great promise, of great powers, and possessed of an uncommon grace. Such gifted men are rare, and though not all of us supported his presidential aspirations, we were all grateful that such a man would seek the high and honorable office of President. We are poorer for his loss, for we know that his service to his country was incomplete. He is gone, his voice stilled, his dreams and hopes shattered. All of us are grateful for the contributions Robert Kennedy made while he lived, but we are profoundly aware of what he could have done, and

what he could have achieved, and how much more indebted to him we might have been. We must grieve just as much for what he was as what he promised to be.

None of us can understand the terrible poison that creates fanatics and misguided zealots, but we must reckon with them. We cannot permit them to infect us with their affliction. We cannot permit their faithlessness to destroy our own faith. If we do, then the sacrifice of Robert Kennedy will have been in vain.

I doubt that Senator Robert Kennedy would have lived his life any differently even if he could have foreseen its end. Like his brothers before him, he believed in this country, and in service to it. I pray that we may all go ahead in the spirit that he symbolized, and serve as he would have, that we may all know a better tomorrow.

May God rest his soul, and give him peace, and grant mercy to us all.

Hon. Lucien N. Nedzi OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, this Nation has in the last few years suffered blow after tragic blow. And the Kennedy family has suffered more than any family should be asked to bear.

We weep for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, his loving family, and our wounded Nation.

The murder of Robert F. Kennedy is a nightmare. It seems impossible that another Kennedy could be struck down in midpassage, young, full of life, full of promise. My God, he was only 42.

This is a difficult century. More than ever, America needs every one of that small, precious number who have a compassionate view of man, a global view of history and who serve their fellow Americans in high public office.

As a public official, as a man, and as a father, Robert F. Kennedy was an inexpendable national treasure.

More than that, even, Robert F. Kennedy represented tomorrow. Now his tomorrows are over, ours are in doubt; and once again, as in November 1963, we have that great, empty feeling.

Our hearts go out to his family and loved ones.

Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, yesterday all of us here and throughout the Nation were shocked by the shot which felled another great American. We all raised our voices in prayer for the recovery of Senator Robert Kennedy and extended a hand of comfort to his wonderful wife, Ethel. Today we were shocked with the realization that this vibrant American, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, was no more, that he would not again raise his voice in support of his great feelings and beliefs in this great country of ours. Our prayers of yesterday for his recovery were not answered, the whys and wherefors are with Almighty God, but I know the prayers for the deceased Senator will be answered and that God Almighty will comfort his wife and children as he will continue to comfort his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, who have suffered and given so much to this great Nation. May our prayers be answered that out of these untimely and unanswerable deaths there may be found the cure to the ills that cause men to commit such evil crimes.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Addabbo and I extend to the Kennedy family our heartfelt sympathy and prayers.

Hon. Bob Casey
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, the dastardly act of the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy has not only shocked us here in Congress, but it has been a terrific blow to the people of this Nation.

We all ask how could this happen here in this great country of ours. It is so unreal as to be like a nightmare. It is so unreal that it should happen to the same distinguished family in such a short time—the late President John F. Kennedy and now his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy.

Every citizen searches his conscience and his heart saying what can we do—where is the blame? There is a hue and cry for the Congress to enact more laws. There is the demand for more police, more courts. But let me point out to the people of America, that this is still basically a government by the people; the citizen himself

is truly the answer in many instances to the dilemma that this free country faces.

The Congress can enact thousands of laws, but if people do not demand and support their enforcement they are for naught. Thousands of additional police may be placed on streets and highways of our cities and countryside, but if the citizens themselves do not back their enforcement and support the officers in their hazardous undertaking—they are of no more benefit for rectifying the conditions of this country than additional blades of grass.

Innumerable new courts could be created, but if the citizen shirks his responsibility as a juror or fails to insist on selection of qualified and fearless judges and prosecutors, the trials that these courts would hold would do little to stem the tide.

Legislative bodies may prescribe in the laws the assessment of penalties to fit the crime, but if juries and judges do not mete out such penalties under such laws, the criminal is soon loose upon the streets.

The citizen should demand and insist that the use of bail bonds should be handled with discretion, that one who commits a crime while out on bond should not be granted bond a second time. The citizen should demand and insist that parole boards begin to show more concern for the law-abiding citizen's protection by refusing early parole to those convicted of crimes of violence.

Court records are open; they are there for all to see. The people of this Nation should apprise themselves of what manner of punishment is being given to those who, when apprehended, are carrying a concealed weapon; if their local courts are viewing with the proper gravity the menace of the hundreds of dangerous individuals walking the streets of this Nation with a pistol in their pocket or concealed under their shirt.

The news media could render a great service by covering the city courts where most of these cases fall and give proper publicity to lenient treatment of such potential killers.

The people who govern this country can by their statements and their actions bolster the morale of the law-enforcement officers of this land by defending them from unjust attacks that are generated by the fulfillment of their duty. They can come to their aid when they are charged

in the courts by those who would say they have improperly performed their duties.

Mr. Speaker, the people who govern this Nation can search their own hearts in their daily conduct to see if they furnish the example to their children and their neighbors for the proper attitude toward their fellow man. There must be a reawakening of moral strength in this country and a reawakening of respect for law and order, if we are to cure this illness which has now beset us.

Let us not see this horrible assassination become a further dividing force in the Nation. Let us not let this tragedy become a symbol of hysteria or rash laws or the removal of any of the freedoms of this great country. But instead let it move us to firm resolve to put our house in order within the framework of this democracy, which has made this country the great Nation that it is.

Mr. Speaker, I join with the whole Nation and the world in expressing my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and also Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, and other members of the family.

Hon. Frank J. Brasco OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending my heartfelt sympathy to the Kennedys—in another tragic loss to a family who have contributed so much to the political life in America, and has suffered so much during the period of that contribution.

The atmosphere of lawlessness in our country must be reversed so that we might be able to erase the horror of this day.

Senator Kennedy has long been a champion of the downtrodden and the outcasts, and it seems to me that he was able to perceive the delicate relationship between the seething discontent in our country and the violence in the streets.

In his quest for a stronger America, he has told our citizens things that they had never had to face before:

That in an era of unprecedented wealth in our country, there can be no true wealth unless there is equality in living.

That America is not stronger if the cancers in our cities continue to grow.

That there is no freedom for Americans unless our streets are safe to walk by day and night.

That the true measure of a country is not the gross national product, but the gross human product.

That there can be no satisfaction within the breast of any American unless there is peace at home and abroad.

These principles were the life and death of Senator Kennedy. I would hope that as a true, lasting tribute to the memory of a great American, we in the House will join hands to put into effect the programs he championed.

For in the final analysis, if the graves of those who inhabit the earth today are opened in 100 years or more, who among us could tell race, creed, or color? Who among us could perceive the differences that cause men to hate one another?

We cannot, and we must not wait for death to bring peace and security, especially to our children.

Hon. Harold T. Johnson OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the tragedy which once again has struck the Kennedy family is one which is shared by all Americans, who today mourn Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The assassination of Senator Kennedy came at a time when, ironically, a great many of my fellow Californians had indicated by their action at the polls that he was their choice of the capable men vying for the Democratic presidential nomination. It is unbelievable and shameful that in this country, the land of free choice and a powerful ballot, the action of one man can negate the wishes of hundreds of thousands of voters.

We are deeply grieved by the loss of Senator Kennedy, and fervently hope that the causes motivating this type of violence can be quickly sought out and eliminated. Surely the whole of America cannot be directly blamed for the action of this man, but yet and still, each of us must do everything in our power to encourage individual, as well as national responsibility toward making America a haven for our great leaders, rather than a place where they must live in fear of their lives.

Mrs. Johnson and I join all Americans in every walk of life in extending our most sincere and heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Robert Kennedy, and the entire Kennedy family, who, once again, must bear the deep grief of the loss of a father and son in service to his country.

Hon. William H. Ayres

OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, not only this body, not only the United States of America, but the whole world is shocked over the tragic and untimely death that befell Senator Bob Kennedy.

I presume after the assassination of President Kennedy most people thought it would be impossible for such a tragedy to occur twice in the same family. However, conditions in our country have changed considerably since November of 1963. We have seen leaders in high places condone lawbreaking and violence—in fact, in the minds of millions, we have had a breakdown of law and order.

In my own heart, I cannot help but feel that this attitude of condoning those who do not wish to conform to our laws helped create hate in the heart and mind of Bob Kennedy's assassin.

Yes, we are living in a strange world. We have advanced so far in the field of science that now we find it possible to walk safely in space but not on the streets of our Nation's Capital.

We find it possible to win a political victory, and lose one's life in the process.

These terrible situations cannot be corrected by law alone. The law can lend direction but it must be implemented by the individual.

Mrs. Ayres and I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children who have lost a devoted father. Although the children will not have the question answered, "Why my Daddy?" perhaps the American people will become aroused to the point that necessary and corrective measures will be taken so that a similar tragic killing will not happen to another daddy.

Hon. John J. Rhodes

OF ARIZONA

Mr. Speaker, my heartfelt and profound sympathy are with the entire Kennedy family, and

especially with Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy and her children in the loss of their beloved husband and father. I join with my fellow Americans and his friends throughout the world who mourn the tragic passing of a dedicated American and most promising statesman, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

In his death, the United States has lost a young and vigorous leader that our Nation could ill afford to lose. The contributions he has made will be long remembered, but the contributions he would have made will be an immeasurable loss to all humanity.

We share grief and a sense of personal loss of a great American, Robert Francis Kennedy.

Hon. Philip J. Philbin

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, a fanatical act of incredible fury and madness has taken the life, in the prime of his powers, of a great American, a brilliant, young leader of distinction and promise, and a cherished friend of many of us in this body, the able, distinguished Senator from New York, Hon. Robert F. Kennedy.

Just a few years ago, yesterday, it seems to some of us, his brother, President John Kennedy, one of our greatest national leaders and Presidents, a former esteemed colleague and beloved friend of many of us, suffered the same fate.

Thus, in just a short space of time, two great native sons of our historic State of Massachusetts, two brothers, members of a very famous family, noted for its many contributions in commerce, business, finance, philanthropy, and the public service of this Nation, have been cut down by the irrational violence of the assassin.

Like his brother, the President, Senator Kennedy was committed to the ordinary people of the Nation and the world.

His service was unselfish and was marked by intensity of conviction, tireless energy and tenacious unyielding purpose to reach his goals of leadership at the topmost national level to serve the people, the peace of the world, and human understanding and progress.

Bob Kennedy, like his famous brother, was admirably trained and adapted for lofty public service. He was well on his way to reaching his political aims. He had just won several striking victories at the polls which put him well on the way to the realization of his political ambitions.

Yet in one terrible moment, by one foul act, he was stricken down just as a soldier stricken in battle.

Bob Kennedy was dedicated to vigorous advocacy of the programs of the young, those seeking change and readjustment, those striving for the poor and underprivileged, the lowly, the sick, and the handicapped, those working for peace, and an ordered world.

To his standards, he had attracted many millions of loyal followers and admirers, who were intent upon making him President, and who could well be pleased and optimistic concerning his chances and the progress he was making.

His passing is one of the most tragic and distressing in the history of our national leadership, or indeed that of any country. The loss to the Nation and the world is incalculable; the loss to his bereaved family and friends shocking, irreparable, and terrible without measure.

Is this the price that great leaders, and families, and the American people have to pay for dedicated public service?

Shall this be the pattern in the future for those who serve, and aspire to serve their country, their neighbors, their fellow Americans and those who live under the protection of the flag of this great country?

Let me say one word on this point here and now. We will either destroy this pattern of brutal assassination of our leaders and civil violence and disorder, and reinstate law and order in this country, or we will in the not too distant future lose our free government and our freedoms, and ultimately live in want, poverty, and enslavement.

I am heartsick over this tragedy, the second within these past few years that has struck down a cherished friend and a great national leader.

My heart goes out to his wife, Ethel Kennedy, a gracious, courageous, wonderful woman, and her young family upon whom this tragedy falls most profoundly; to the illustrious father and mother, Hon. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy; our esteemed and very distinguished friend and colleague, Senator Edward M. Kennedy; my friends of the Fitzgerald family, and all the other relatives of our great Senator Bob.

Prayers and most heartfelt sympathy, I send them all from a very heavy, sorrowing heart. And I ask our merciful Lord to bestow His blessings and healing graces upon all of them, and give

them strength, encouragement, and hope in their great sorrow.

And may our friend, Senator Robert Kennedy, find peace and rest in his heavenly home forever.

Hon. Albert W. Johnson

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, again tragedy has been witnessed in this great Nation. One of our national leaders, Robert F. Kennedy, has been wantonly assassinated by a ruthless killer. This shocking act now joins the many other similar heartless actions of deranged men who have caused the lives of our great leaders to be destroyed. It seems difficult to believe that in this great Nation where we so love our freedom and liberty that there are those who would viciously seek to destroy it. The time has come when the principles of Christian fellowship and good will toward men should again be the guiding star of our national life.

The emphasis must be away from a permissive society. Law and its strict enforcement must be the rule.

Condoning civil disobedience which leads to certain violence must not be tolerated. The people of this Nation demand a return to an era of stringent observance of the rules of conduct that make for an orderly and safe society.

The Federal Government must lead the way. Statements by responsible leaders that encourage disrespect for law and order must cease. In this connection we have this day passed the crime bill. I was glad to be able to vote for it. It is only a beginning.

Let us hope and pray that the citizens will rise up in righteous indignation at the trend of events in this Nation in the field of preservation of law and order to the end that all levels of government will respond to the urgent necessity to reestablish an orderly and disciplined society.

Hon. Thomas M. Pelly

OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Speaker, Senator Kennedy's murder at the point of his greatest political triumph—the California primary—brings at once shame and sad-

ness to all America. What further achievements were in store will never be known, but already he had carved his mark into the history of our country. Especially, we must feel sympathy for the Kennedy family who have once more been visited with tragedy and shattered hopes.

Hon. Barber B. Conable, Jr.
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, something electric goes out of the public life of this country when a Kennedy dies. Of all the fine men in office today, few could command the popular attention, few could grasp the public conscience, few could make as broadly based or widely studied an appeal as Robert F. Kennedy. As a result, he will be much missed by his colleagues, his friends and the country at large. Many families have had tragedies, but the tragedy of the Kennedy family is the Nation's sorrow as well, and we are all much diminished and saddened.

Hon. Julia Butler Hansen
OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sorrow that I join my distinguished colleagues in the House today to express my sympathy to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

The Senator was a personal friend of all of us in Washington and, in a larger sense, a friend of every citizen in the world. His compassion and love of humanity, his dedication of service to his fellow man, will forever be the measure of his life.

I cannot close this brief tribute without also expressing a particular kind of sorrow for my Nation. We are troubled about the stability of the American dollar. Perhaps we should be equally as concerned about the stability of the American soul.

What uncivility and fears among us have nurtured the savagery of settling democratic leadership by bullets rather than the ballot box?

We talk about the Constitution, yet ignore the preamble which asks for domestic tranquillity.

We hurl invective with words and pictures that warp and sting the minds of the frail and the minds of impressionable youth to make assaults upon the very decency of man.

Are compassion, love, and manners gone with yesterday? I don't believe so, but I do believe that public words and deeds must be tempered with the discipline of decency, respect, love for our fellow men, and the firm belief we are indeed a nation under God, not a nation without God.

Hon. Dan Rostenkowski
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, to speak well of a man upon his death is a practice going back to the earliest times. It represents the pitiful contribution which we mortals can make to the memory of a departed friend or relative. In many cases one must look hard to find good and outstanding things to say.

Today I want to speak well of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Of him, one has no difficulty in finding good and outstanding things about which to speak. The difficulty lies in choosing which of his attributes and achievements were the greatest.

He was the proud father, the devoted husband, the devout Catholic. He was the student, the lawyer, the shrewd political tactician. He was the Attorney General, the strong right arm of the President, the brother confessor to the Kennedy administration.

He was brilliant, kind, thoughtful. He was friendly, complex, dynamic.

He was the ally of the poor, the underprivileged, and the minority groups.

He walked with leaders of the world, but his hand was always in touch with its common people. He was known, loved, and respected in all the countries of the world.

He was all these things and more, for to me, God bless him, he was my friend. I pray that God will give his family the strength and comfort to carry on and the knowledge that the name of Robert F. Kennedy will forever be synonymous with greatness.

My wife LaVerne joins me in extending my deepest sympathy to the entire Kennedy family.

Hon. John B. Anderson
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, in those lines by the late Carl Sandburg which he entitled "The People, Yes," he expressed in noble phrases the eternal hope that must sustain us in these hours of anguish:

The people will live on.

The learning blundering people will live on.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, even that assurance of the eternal scheme of things scarcely serves to assuage our grief as we contemplate the horror of the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. We grieve for his widow and 10 children; for his mother and father and other members of his family. We are left desolate at the thought that another senseless act of violence has stained the pages of American history. It is true that this barbarous act was committed by one who was not even a citizen of this land. Yet he had apparently lived here during the important and formative years when he was growing up. From current press reports his bitterness toward Senator Kennedy stemmed from his belief that the Senator favored the cause of Israel; whereas the assassin was a Jordanian who nourished a virulent hatred against the State of Israel.

The assassin was 24 years of age. This fact reminds us of the melancholy fact that in a recent year half of all major crimes committed in the United States were committed by those 24 years of age or under.

Today the House of Representatives will, I earnestly hope, adopt the resolution which I introduced on May 29 to recede and concur in the Senate amendments to the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act which passed the House of Representatives 10 months ago on August 8, 1967, as H.R. 5037. Some suggest that the passage of anticrime legislation will stand as a fitting memorial to the late Senator because of his earlier Government service as counsel to the McClellan committee of the U.S. Senate. In an even broader sense it will be a manifestation of our concern as a Congress, shared by the Nation, that crime has become so endemic to our society that we must pass at once the crime control legislation. It is only a very small step, of course, in the building of a more orderly society; but it is a step we should take.

Let us pray to God that when future historians assess this period in our Nation's history that they will write not only of the profound gloom that thoroughly pervades our Nation at this hour but of our determination that we will do those things individually and collectively that are needed to build a better future—one where violence does not stalk the land and devour as its prey men like Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. James A. Burke
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the people of America and the world have lost a great young leader. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, like his late beloved brother, President John F. Kennedy, died at the hands of an assassin.

In our society it is difficult to comprehend how such a horrendous crime can occur. At a time when we need them most, our strongest leaders are being one by one felled by the assassin's bullet.

The Kennedy family has more than carried its share of grief and sorrow over the years. And yet their courage and strong moral fiber have set an example for the entire Nation and the world.

Our thoughts and prayers are with Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, her children, the entire family, and those who were close to this great man. Let us join together in a renewed pledge to realize the brotherhood and love of fellow man in which he believed so strongly.

Hon. James A. Byrne
OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I arise to express my sincerest sympathy that the life of Senator Robert Kennedy was snuffed out by the impulse of a man with hatred in his heart. Yesterday I was shocked and terrified when I heard the tragic news, and today I cannot express my feelings of how disturbed and shocked I am in learning of his death. I am horrified that this could happen in the United States of America, which is supposed to be the land of brotherhood, where hatred for one's brother has led to great tragedies in taking the lives of the two outstanding and dedicated Americans, President

John F. Kennedy and his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy. Mrs. Byrne joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy and prayers to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and to the entire Kennedy family. It is my earnest prayer that the good Lord will have mercy on Senator Kennedy's soul and grant him eternal rest.

Hon. J. J. (Jake) Pickle
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, the senseless and cruel assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy again reflects a dangerously indulgent attitude toward violence that is present in some quarters of our society.

This outrageous crime has produced a state of shock and sorrow in our country not only for the meaningless act that it was but also because the tragic consequences have deprived this Nation of a distinguished public servant.

Senator Kennedy has served his country faithfully and well. Like his elder brother, President John F. Kennedy, he dedicated his adult life and his talents to working to making this a better nation.

Decent Americans are justifiably angry at the defiance of law that allows evil forces to threaten the foundations of our society.

Lethal expression must be stopped, and we pray that this Nation will not have to endure more violence until our society comes to the realization we cannot build an environment where man can live in peace and security with his fellow man by acts of destruction.

Americans have a solemn obligation to rededicate themselves to the preservation of law and order without reservation and without prejudice. And if things are not as we wish, it is our duty to work toward making them better, not through violence, but through a framework of civilized society.

I extend my deepest sympathies to Senator Kennedy's family. Because he was a great national leader, he was sometimes controversial. But he was a courageous leader who gave no quarter when he thought he was right. Every Member of this House respected this competitive spirit for the America he loved. And today we are all sad, and sick, and ashamed that an act of violence has ripped this leader from our midst.

Hon. Chet Holifield
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has shocked every citizen of our country.

Our hearts are saddened and our thoughts go forth in sympathy to his bereaved family.

It seems to many of us that tragedy and bereavement have been measured out to the Kennedy family in too heavy measurement. Three of their four sons have been sacrificed in the service of their country.

The death of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy was the greatest tragedy of our generation in terms of individual loss to our country. Now for the second time the senseless assassin has committed a similar act against the President's brother, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

We who are in national elective positions know full well the temper of many vicious attacks upon our integrity.

We know that another type of assassin—the character assassin—is ever present in today's world of public affairs.

The character assassin is the precursor to the tormented minds of the actual assassin who takes the life of a public servant. The hate which they mouth and the lies which they spread are powerful factors in causing the hate to increase in unbalanced minds to the point where murder takes over and the dastardly deed is consummated.

We are alarmed at the deed itself. We are alarmed even more at the pattern of assassination which has more recently swept over our country. Three times in the recent 5 years have we seen national leaders felled by the assassin's bullets.

Somehow we must find the answer to this problem posed by this pattern of violence.

We must search for ways to minimize the causes of violence which apparently lie beneath these violent acts.

We can never protect our people from every act of violence, but surely there are remedies for the basic resentment which permeates so many minds today.

Wherever poverty, illiteracy, sickness and disease can be eliminated, wherever environments can be improved, wherever opportunity can be extended to those who have been denied oppor-

tunity to share meaningfully in the benefits of our society, where remedial programs should be initiated and enlarged. If we attack the basic defects of our society, then we can eliminate some of the basic causes for resentment against the structure of our society.

We must also rededicate ourselves to the fundamental, moral, and spiritual principles which have stood the test of time and proven their worth in establishing peaceful procedures and relations between human beings.

The task is not easy, but the time seems to be getting shorter and shorter. If we, as a people, are to check the pattern of violence, we must move in many, many ways to find the answer before it is too late.

Hon. Howard W. Pollock

OF ALASKA

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and all Alaskans I wish to extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Once again, the rule of fear—of lawlessness—has cast its monstrous shadow across this Nation. This rule of fear is a sickness which strikes at the very foundation of our modern society.

No civilization can survive unless all its members accept a certain degree of discipline. Unbridled lawlessness breeds insurrection and ultimately anarchy. This cannot be tolerated. The American Revolution, its Declaration of Independence, its Constitution, and its Bill of Rights all stress the basic and viable principle of voluntary discipline. Freedom, which is a cherished bulwark of the American society, places a great responsibility upon each and every citizen to act with dignity, to respect law and order, to preserve and increase the proud heritage of our forefathers.

Mr. Speaker, on this day of tragedy, each and every American must rededicate himself to the urgent task of restoring reason and order and confidence in our society. The basic freedoms which we enjoy, in this, the greatest democracy on earth, can survive only if we are equal to the great responsibilities and disciplines which must be exercised in conjunction with those freedoms.

Hon. Edward J. Patten

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, deprives the Nation of a young and courageous leader of great ability and promise. Now we will never know what notable progress and victories he would have achieved—not only for the State he so ably represented, but also for the Nation he served and loved so well.

Robert Kennedy was a brave fighter. He fought hard for the causes in which he so strongly believed—from equal opportunity for every American to peace in a troubled world.

Like the late President John F. Kennedy, Robert did not live long. However, the impact he left on America and her people—especially the young—will be long remembered.

The most enduring monument to Robert Kennedy will not be his achievements for he did not live long enough to accomplish on a vast scale, although he was an exceptional Attorney General and a fine U.S. Senator. The monument left by Robert Kennedy was that rare and precious gift of hope—the feeling that somehow, America would conquer her problems and that things would turn out right—sharing the same faith and conviction expressed by William Faulkner when he won the Nobel Prize: “Man will not merely endure. He will prevail.”

The Kennedy brothers saddened America and the free world with their tragic and premature deaths. But how they brightened and inspired our lives.

Hon. Theodore R. Kupferman

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert F. Kennedy was my constituent. Mrs. John F. Kennedy also lives in my district.

Their presence there, along with so many other fine and famous people, explains why this is a landmark district.

Possibly because of this domicile, more than most Members of Congress in the opposition party, I have had the opportunity of seeing Sen-

ator Kennedy. His passing, therefore, is a personal loss.

My wife and I join in the national mourning for an outstanding leader and express to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and their children our sincere condolences.

Hon. James J. Howard
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, the mood of Washington these days is the same as it is in the rest of the country. As the people go about their daily duties, there is a feeling of sadness for the loss of a great American—frustration because it could not be prevented, awe that this and other violent acts should occur in our Nation, and wonder concerning its cause and cure.

Constituents write and urge the passage of the anticrime bill and gun control laws which have now passed both Houses of Congress. But all of our people ask themselves and others how we can stop this rampant violence.

Surely, legislation is needed, but this alone will not cure the malaise which is rapidly engulfing America. Legislation alone will not cure it, because the malaise is hate, and it lies not only between the lines of legislation, but deep within the hearts of many Americans.

It is this hate that causes many of us to speak with anger and disgust against the "niggers"—and they to retort, spewing out their venomous call to violence against the "honkies." It is the emotional hatred which causes many conservatives to label those who disagree with them as "Commies," and liberals to brand people who disagree with them as "extremists."

It is this hate that will bring about a "lesser America" unless we overcome it.

As we look toward a "future America," where do we find it? It is in our grade schools—our ball fields and sandboxes—our scout troops and Sunday schools—our cribs and carriages.

There is no hate there, but there should be hope. Only we can provide the proper attitudes that will return us to the proper path for America.

That attitude is expressed by the only thing

Robert Kennedy ever asked of his fellow Americans: "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Hon. Joseph E. Karth
OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Speaker, I join millions of Americans and people throughout the world who, with heavy heart, express great personal grief and extend sincere and profound sympathy to the Kennedy family.

Senator Kennedy was a brilliant, dedicated public servant who gave untiringly and unselfishly to his Nation and its people. A man of great courage who cared not about the odds; cared not about what was popularly acceptable; cared not about what his friends or constituents might feel about his position on issues—truly a test of one dedicated first and always to his country.

The Kennedy family has been asked to give more than any family should be required to give under any circumstances. This Nation owes and owes greatly to this family and this man, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Mrs. Karth and I express deepest heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Kennedy and their family.

Hon. Silvio O. Conte
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, I join with our whole Nation today in mourning the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and in extending my deepest sympathies to the Kennedy family.

The tragic taking of this young national leader from us in the prime of life represents a monumental loss not just to his family and his friends, but to the whole country.

Senator Robert Kennedy spent his entire life in the service of this country and death came to him as it did to his late brother, President John Kennedy, solely because he chose to serve his Nation.

Our hearts go out today to the entire Kennedy family which has suffered so greatly and so tragically, and especially to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and the 10 children of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Clement J. Zablocki

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a national tragedy which the Nation and the world mourn with the deepest feelings of loss and remorse. To his wife, his children, and his family, Mrs. Zablocki and I extend our heartfelt sympathy.

Those of us who have had the privilege of working with him and all those who knew and loved him were the richer from the experience. Although some may have differed with him no one can question his sincerity, devotion, and dedication to his fellow men. With unequaled compassion and zeal he worked unstintingly for the underprivileged, the poor, the oppressed. His passing leaves a great and bitter void—a void which each of us in dedication to his memory must accept the challenge of filling.

The irrational act which took Senator Kennedy from us—an act of violence and total disregard for all human values—is but a symptom of the lawlessness and hatred which is eroding our society. Indeed, the great irony is that Robert Kennedy, who sought reconciliation and solutions within the democratic process of rational debate and majority rule, should be cut down by the tyranny of one recalcitrant and hate-filled individual who had rejected that process.

It has been said with much truth that some people are so afraid to die that they never begin to live. To Robert Kennedy death and life was not a foe but an inevitable adventure. His life was completely dedicated in service to his Nation and abiding concern for other human beings.

Now, in his death, we must seek for ourselves the same adventure, the same opportunity, the same vigor and determination with which he lived his life. To do otherwise would not keep faith with his memory and the cause for which he lived.

At this hour of grief may his loved ones and all of us who mourn him take consolation in the lesson from Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount—paraphrased to today's tragedy.

Blessed be the poor in spirit—blessed be those poor for whom Robert Kennedy worked and who weep for him now.

Blessed are they that mourn—may they understand the cause for which he lived and died and

may they embrace it forever in their own hearts.

Blessed are the meek—may they soon possess the freedom and dignity which he sought for all.

Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness—may they lead us through this dark and tragic period of hate to peace and reconciliation.

Blessed are the merciful—may you show this country and all the world your mercy, O Lord, and may we in turn be merciful to our fellow men.

Blessed are the pure in heart—for they shall be divinely ordained to carry the banner of love and peace.

Blessed are the peacemakers—that they may see in this tragic death the road to peace and understanding.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake—for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

May God have mercy upon his soul and the United States of America which he served and loved so well.

Hon. William C. Cramer

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the deadly shots fired at Senator Robert Kennedy, reprehensible as an act of ghastly criminal violence against the person of a U.S. Senator, were equally shaking as an anarchical attack on the institutions of orderly and representative government.

When America comes to the condition where a citizen cannot travel freely, speak out boldly and run for public office without fear of personal harm, then a fatal blow has been stricken against our constitutional form of government.

The necessity of calling for FBI protection of the candidates for President and Vice President to assure their safety in the 1968 election is evidence that this great Nation is swiftly approaching the terrible "differ with violence," not debate and peaceful discussion approach to the problems of the day.

If Senator Kennedy's death, and the assassination of other leaders in recent years, leads to the moral rejuvenation of America and the determination to oppose crime and violence in this country, then these Americans shall not have died in vain.

Hon. Laurence J. Burton
OF UTAH

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to recall a more tragic time in America than the present one. A U.S. Senator has been senselessly killed by an assassin. That, in itself, is tragedy enough. But in this case the victim was not only a Senator, and a very distinguished one, but also a brother of a President of the United States who only a short time before met with a similar, terrible death. That two such young men, sons of the same parents, who exemplified the highest in this country's political tradition, should be gunned down within the short space of a 5-year period is a tragedy beyond all bounds. Never have I felt so much pity, so much sorrow as I feel for the Kennedy family at this time. No words of mine, certainly, can help lessen the awful consequences of this terrible act. But my heart does go out to Mrs. Kennedy, to the children, to Senator Edward Kennedy and other members of the family, to whom I extend my deepest sympathy. I wish to God that this terrible act had not occurred. I pray to God, now that it has, that whatever measure of comfort and consolation and hope can be granted to this family be accorded them in this most unhappy hour.

Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately express my sorrow at the passing of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

He was a dedicated American and public servant whom I was very proud to call my personal friend.

My sorrow is matched only by my indignation and my horror that this young man should be taken from us in this frightening manner.

The Senator was the second member of the Kennedy family to die at the hands of an assassin while serving his country in Government service. His brother, the late beloved President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated less than 5 years ago.

We in the Buffalo area had come to know Robert Kennedy particularly well, since he bid for election to the U.S. Senate from his adopted State of New York.

In serving our State and the Buffalo area—as in his other responsibilities—he was unstinting in his dedication to the public good and the public interest.

My sincere sympathy goes out to his wonderful family and his host of friends everywhere at this sad time.

All of us have lost a great friend, colleague, and dedicated public servant.

Hon. Dominick V. Daniels
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, I rise in this House today to express my own profound sense of sorrow at the passing of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy of New York and the sorrow and shock of the people of the 14th District of New Jersey.

Bob Kennedy was my friend and the friend of many in New Jersey and words alone cannot convey our feelings about this dastardly act which has deprived this Nation of one of its greatest public men.

There is no tragedy greater than the untimely death of a young man whose time is still to come.

In Tennyson's words:

Thy leaf has perished in the green,
And while we breathe beneath the sun,
The world which credits what is done
Is cold to all that might have been.

Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments of the Senator are almost unparalleled for a man not yet 43 years of age. Campaign manager for a President of the United States, Attorney General of the United States, and U.S. Senator from one of our greatest States. Most men struggle all their lives without achieving half of this eminence. Yet, we all knew—or thought we knew—that he was the child of destiny who would scale the heights and now he, like his brother, sleeps the sleep of the just.

Mr. Speaker, now there is nothing left for us except to ask Almighty God to let perpetual light shine upon him.

To his widow, Ethel, and to the 10 Kennedy children, I cannot say any words that will assuage their grief. But in the years that lie ahead they will know that this great man, who to them was an exemplary father and husband,

has a secure niche in the hearts of his countrymen. Perhaps at some future time, when the immediate shock has passed, they can take some consolation from this fact.

Mrs. Daniels joins with me in expressing our deepest sympathy to all the members of the family of Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, who have known so much heartbreak and sorrow. Our hearts go out to them.

Hon. Peter N. Kyros

OF MAINE

Mr. Speaker, I rise in this House to express my own profound grief of the passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York, and the grief and shock of the people of the First District of Maine.

Our country has today experienced an immeasurable loss. Senator Robert Kennedy's death is an individual and a national tragedy.

We have lost a vital human being. Robert Kennedy's zest for life invigorated us. His vision of an America where understanding might overcome hatred inspired us. His compassion in combating injustice and poverty stirred our consciences and enriched man's dignity. His challenge to excel dared us to reject the easy and the complacent, to confront the difficult, to make the most of our lives. All this his words expressed; all this his life represented. All this is now no more. There is no compensation for so great an individual tragedy.

It is now for us to determine that, from our national tragedy, we shall learn and we shall have a deeper knowledge of ourselves and the condition of America. It is for us to find meaning in this senseless act.

The paralyzing horror we feel at Robert Kennedy's assassination should lead us all to ponder in deep reflection whether we shall permit history to judge that he believed in us, the American people, more than we deserved.

Are we a tired and declining nation to be corrupted inevitably by moral indifference and material concerns?

Are we a nation destined to disintegrate from hate-filled divisions of race?

Are we a people hopelessly divided into the self-satisfied affluent and the powerless poor?

Are we a people who prefer personal comfort to individual commitment?

Are we a society tolerant of violence and scornful of reason and law?

Robert Kennedy's life was an affirmation that we, as a people, must meet and resolve these fundamental questions. His was a living belief and a cherished ideal that America does have the moral capacity to make our civilization worthy of greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the realization of that faith and the triumph of that ideal.

Mrs. Kyros joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy and sending all our prayers to his widow, Ethel, and all the members of this great American family.

Hon. Herbert Tenzer

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, the voice of a man of great courage has been silenced. Senator Kennedy articulated the cry for justice of the minorities and the underprivileged of our Nation.

He has been taken from us—like his brother before him—by an assassin's bullet.

Yesterday when I first received the news of the tragedy which had befallen the Kennedy family, I said:

The bitterness—the hatred which is dividing us as a people is producing a disease in the minds of some which threatens to destroy our very existence.

If our democratic system is to survive, we must rededicate ourselves to the treatment of the root causes of this illness before it is too late.

There are many things which we must do. High on this priority list is the passage of effective gun control legislation calling for regulation of the manufacture and sale of guns. We must also give attention to the need for research, treatment and care in the field of mental illness.

We require the massing of our brains and resources to solve the problems of the hungry poor—the unemployed and underemployed—the poorly housed and the sick.

I heartily endorse the action taken by President Johnson in appointing a Commission to look into the causes and control of physical violence.

This step alone may not be enough. We must call upon the moral and spiritual leadership of our Nation and the responsible opinion molders in our society to speak out as one for unity—

respect for law and order—respect for the rights of individuals—and respect for the national interest.

My dear wife, Florrie, and the members of my family, join me in expressing sincere condolences to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, to their children, and to all the members of the Kennedy family. We pray that the Almighty may grant them comfort in these trying hours and in the days and years ahead.

Hon. Thomas J. Meskill

OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, all Americans are in a state of shock over the slaying of Robert Kennedy. We are frustrated, angry, and ashamed that such incidents should happen not once but repeatedly in our land. The victims are not only our famous men but ordinary citizens, cut down almost daily as they attempt to go about their peaceful pursuits.

We can only hope that at last this country will be shocked into realizing how far our society—once the shining example for the world—has descended into chaos.

As for the valiant Kennedy family, at this time of grief, there is simply no way to express what we feel. Once more they have lost by assassination a son, a brother, a father at the pinnacle of his life and career. They are schooled in tragedy, but supported invaluable by their unshakable faith in the ultimate justice of the Lord. Let us share that faith and go forward—together—as Members of Congress entrusted with the future of America—to pull this country together that we may jointly solve our problems in amity—as brothers.

On behalf of my family and all those I represent in Congress, I want to express my unbounded admiration for the Kennedy family for their dignity and bearing through repeated periods of deepest grief. To them go my deepest respect and sympathy.

Hon. Ray J. Madden

OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy is not only deplored by all

Americans but has shocked the people throughout the world.

This dreadful attack is almost a duplication of the assassination of his brother, President Kennedy.

These two great leaders of democracy advocated a free, representative government which recognizes all our citizenry—wealthy, medium, and poor. They were struck down by two fanatical assassins. One originated from the politically explosive Middle East, and the other had been Communist trained in Moscow and Cuba and educated in the tyranny of atheist communism.

I do not accept the theory of many who say that these brutal murders are the result of an American so-called sick society. Most of the so-called turmoil, discontent, riots, and agitation within our borders is caused by well-trained, well-organized, well-financed infiltrators and insurrectionists backed by the international Communist conspiracy.

I commend President Johnson on announcing his blue-ribbon Committee under Milton Eisenhower who will make an extended study and recommend steps to curb this general defiance of law and order by professional agitators and enemies of our form of government.

I extend to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and the family my deepest sympathy in their sorrow and bereavement.

Hon. Robert N. C. Nix

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, on February 10, 1968, made a statement in the New York Times entitled "Things Fall Apart, the Center Cannot Hold." The Senator said that although we have a soaring gross national product, we have much to be disturbed about this country, including "Speck's knife and television programs which glorify violence the better to sell toys to our children." He went on to say that economic wealth measures everything except the reasons for being proud to be Americans.

We are still proud to be Americans this morning because Senator Robert F. Kennedy lived. If our pride this morning is mixed with shame it is because of Senator Kennedy's death and the violence that is in our streets, in all of our streets. In the primary campaigns this spring,

Senator Kennedy campaigned at risk of criticism from the press on the need for law and order as well as the manly facing up to the problems in our cities and ghettos. We cannot do one without the other. There are many who espouse one or the other cause but very few who take on both issues and explain to our people that balance in all things is our greatest national need.

Senator Kennedy lived as he died, in the cause of justice. The most criticized Cabinet appointment in American political life turned out to be one of the best that any President ever made. Robert Kennedy was this Nation's greatest Attorney General. His crusade on the part of civil rights and his campaign against organized crime gave him in all our eyes that spark of greatness.

Now the man who could with such candor explain best our need for order as a basis for progress has been taken from us by the act of a madman. We have all been soiled by this act, not because we are some way responsible for that act, but because we all could have done more to make America better. The Congress, for example, could have passed gun control legislation long ago.

Our people, all of them, could show their respect for law by paying their traffic tickets, paying their taxes and supporting local law enforcement even when it hurts them. I think what stirred people about the life of Senator Kennedy was that his career threatened the end of the "fix" in American life. Evenhanded justice is always terrifying because none of us is without sin. The beginning of the poem quoted by Senator Kennedy is included below:

THE SECOND COMING

Turning and turning in the widening gyre.
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack of all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

The Kennedy family is again bereaved. It is sorely troubled. No family in history outside of the Gracii family in the time of the Roman Empire has been so troubled in the cause of the poor and plain people. Their sacrifices are beyond imagining. Only the loss of the five Sullivan brothers on the sinking of the cruiser *Augusta*

during the Second World War comes close to the prolonged agony of the Kennedy family.

But we must go on because these lives so freely given, John Kennedy's and Robert Kennedy's, can mean something and not be tossed aside as scraps of paper. This country means something because of these sacrifices. It is built on sacrifice and the great structures that are built on sacrifice are steady and strong. We will be strong. We are going to get a hold of ourselves. We are going to be better. The center will hold because now we know that things are falling apart. But we also know as Senator Kennedy said moments before he was shot:

We can end the divisions within the United States. We can start to work together. We are a great country, a selfless country, a compassionate country. We can work together to end violence, disenchantment.

Hon. James M. Hanley OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Hanley and our family are grieved beyond words in recognition of Senator Kennedy's death. We cherished the close personal friendship which we enjoyed with him. I maintained the utmost admiration for his integrity, courage, and dedication. My heart goes out to his fine family who have, in the service of our Nation, endured so much grief: First, Joseph, then John, and now Robert.

In looking back to November of 1963 and the tragedies since, I am saddened with our state of affairs. That an environment of violence and unrest prevails in the world, and in particular in our Nation, that a nation which was conceived in morality and guided through the years by the Constitution so wisely and eloquently drawn by the founders, should itself fall victim to immorality, is inconceivable to me. We as a nation must proceed with the cure.

Hon. William V. Roth, Jr. OF DELAWARE

Mr. Speaker, we were awakened this morning with the horrific news of the death of Senator Robert Kennedy just as we were awakened yesterday with the tragic news that he had been brutally shot.

I am deeply shocked and distressed. His death is an enormous loss to all Americans regardless of background or political belief. Our Nation, perhaps more than at any time in its history, needs imaginative, vigorous men like Senator Kennedy dedicated so completely to public life and national betterment.

Robert F. Kennedy was among the ablest and most dynamic men of this Congress and of our Nation. We shall sorely miss his presence in these Halls—and our Nation will long be shocked by the manner of his passing.

The hearts of all Americans go out to the distinguished Kennedy family whose grievous losses are exceeded only by their great and long service to their country.

Among the last words of the Senator's short life were: "We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country." And because he was so correct and because we are better for his having walked among us for 42 years, let us resolve that the assassin's bullet and violence shall not become a way of American political life.

We must use to the limit the talents assembled here to find a way to drive the madness of divisiveness and violence from our streets. And we must strain the limits of great minds here to seek out the causes of an existing, but inchoate, mood in which such terrible deeds are born.

Hon. Hervey G. Machen

OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator Kennedy has deprived our national legislature of an articulate and forward-looking spokesman for democratic and social reform in our Nation. No other man can replace him.

In his campaign for the presidential nomination Senator Kennedy engendered a nationwide dialog and needed discussion of just where our country is going. I hope that his death is not the final answer to that question. I also hope that our national dialog will continue on the major issues facing our people. This will constitute a great tribute to Senator Kennedy, one he deserves.

As President Johnson said last night, 200 million Americans did not kill Senator Kennedy. But there is a shame and blight on all of us, never-

theless. We must purge our Nation of this violent sickness that has been striking out at our national leaders in recent years. This must not become a nation of public execution instead of public dialog. More than ever extremists on both sides have to be placed on notice that there is no sympathy nor room for their violence in this Nation, except in the minds of the insane. The public must turn these people off, and tune them out permanently.

In conclusion I wish to offer my personal condolences to the Kennedy family and to offer my pledge that I will do everything as a U.S. Congressman to prevent future tragedy.

Hon. Santiago Polanco-Abreu

OF PUERTO RICO

Mr. Speaker, assassins cannot but fail in their purpose, for by assassination they invariably give immortality to their victims, destroy themselves, and hurt their cause. Thus has it been throughout history.

Robert Kennedy, like his brother, will live eternally in the hearts and minds of men and in the chronicles for all time.

His soul rests in the hands of his Creator, but his image remains with his fellow man.

The pity is not only the murderous act of a sick fanatic, but the wasting of the energetic talents of a vigorous and able young man who yearned to serve his country—one who while seemingly stirred passions in some, nevertheless had an unusual ability to heal wounds where they were the deepest.

He demonstrated that he could bring together ununited groups who fervently followed his leadership and placed their whole faith in him. Admiration for Senator Kennedy was not limited to this continent.

Had he been allowed to finish his campaign, had he won the Presidency, it cannot be denied that he might have been able to unite this Nation and stem the ruinous tide of growing divisiveness among our people.

Now this will never be known.

The people of Puerto Rico are as one with the people of the 50 States and all U.S. citizens in their grief. We sorrow as one, as we have before.

Thankfully, this time we need not share a national shame or a national guilt. It was not one of ours, not a fellow citizen, that committed the deed, but a visitor to our shores.

Hon. Donald G. Brotzman
OF COLORADO

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in abhorrence at the tragic, senseless murder of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Mrs. Brotzman and I extend our sincere sympathy to the members of his family at this difficult and trying time. I believe that in this period of strife and crisis it is most important that all Americans put aside those minor matters that tend to divide us and embrace those great principles that tend to unite us.

Hon. M. G. (Gene) Snyder
OF KENTUCKY

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mrs. Snyder and myself and for 550,000 constituents, I wish to express the heartfelt sympathy of our family and our people to the family of Senator Robert Kennedy. Politics is one thing—but devotion to country is another. Many may question the politics of this family, but none can question their devotion to their country.

I know of no other family who has given so freely of their talents in serving their country—and lost so much in so doing.

Without reservation, I say that the prayers of my family and the people I represent will be with them that God will give them the continued courage to withstand the trials of another tragic hour in their lives.

Hon. Joel T. Broyhill
OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a dark and sad page in the history of our Nation. Violence and lawlessness have proven they know no limitation or boundary. Thousands of Americans, including myself, have asked the question many times since yesterday morning: "What is happening to America?"

The tragic death of Senator Kennedy serves to emphasize that enforcement of the law should be the prime objective of everyone at this time. We should stop making excuses, apologies, and alibis for those who have disrespect for law or feel they have the right to disobey the laws with

which they disagree. Our survival as a civilized nation is at stake.

My heartfelt prayers and sympathy are extended to the Kennedy family in these additional hours of sorrow.

Hon. Melvin Price
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, words cannot express the deep anguish, the bewilderment, the revulsion the world feels over the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Expressions of sorrow cannot convey the feelings of remorse and sorrow our Nation holds over Robert Kennedy's untimely and shocking death. That fate has rendered unto him that which befell his beloved brother, our late President John F. Kennedy, is incomprehensible.

To steal from one family the lives of three young men in the service of their country is an overwhelming burden for the surviving members to bear. To deprive a Nation of the talents of these dynamic young men with so many years of dedicated public service remaining is a cruel blow to their fellow citizens.

Robert Kennedy, the public official, and Robert Kennedy, the family man, is gone. But the spirit of vitality and the quest for excellence which were so much a part of Robert Kennedy will linger long after his mortal remains are entombed.

The residues of melancholy and pathos over the stunning effects of Robert Kennedy's grievous death will give way with time. But from these feelings must emerge a renewed spirit of determination to end the divisiveness, the discord, the malaise afflicting our society. We cannot allow ourselves to sink further into the murky depths of violence and bellicosity.

Robert Kennedy gave his life for his country. His country must recognize his contributions and the values he embraced. The challenges he articulated are not easy challenges to meet. But he spoke of the tasks ahead. And if we are to succeed as a Nation we must recognize those problems and we must resolve them. Too many lives have been lost for us not to realize that we must work to restore our society and to reconcile the differences between its rhetoric and its reality.

Hon. William L. Dawson

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, all America mourns the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. In the midst of vibrant life, he suffered death, and the Nation suffered a loss it cannot afford. For he had dedicated his life to advance the welfare and progress of the people of this country. In the brief span of years that was given to him, he saw and understood the many gaps and deficiencies in our national life and he strove valiantly and compassionately to reduce and narrow them. In the prime of his career, and on the threshold of the Nation's decision on electing its next President, he was taken from us by an assassin's despicable deed.

Violence in America is becoming a national sin. It takes too great a toll of our national wealth. The rollcall of our losses—President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Viola Liuzzo, and hundreds of our finest citizens who have been murdered because they worked for the betterment of our Nation—this list is now far too long and bitter.

But in our resolve to remove violence from the land, let us remember the compassion which animated Robert Kennedy's life and was expressed even in his last words. Let us remember his love for the oppressed, the unfortunate, and the alienated.

We must eliminate bloodletting from our midst and so far as our influence runs from the whole world. But we must proceed, in the words of another great American felled by an assassin's bullet, with charity for all, with malice toward none. In this recurring moment of tragedy, and in the years to come, let America be governed by the compassion in which our fallen leaders lived, and not by the mad vindictiveness which killed him.

The tragic death of Senator Kennedy has shaken the world and the Nation. It has plunged us into the deepest sorrow. It has, in a very profound sense, diminished the dialog which is so essential to our existence and to the betterment of our country. It is a sad day for all of us.

I join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives, and on behalf of myself and all the people whom I represent, to extend our deep and heartfelt sympathy to his wife and children,

to his parents and sisters, to his brother Senator Edward M. Kennedy, and to all his friends.

Hon. Richard H. Fulton

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, a dark chapter in our history has just been written. To the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy the events of recent hours must seem like the recurrence of a cruel nightmare which is never to cease.

Yesterday our hearts went out to the Kennedy family, the Senator's close friends and associates. Our sympathies were with them. Our prayers for them.

Today we join them. We join them in mourning.

America has once again witnessed the violent passing of one of her brightest young sons. The world has suffered the loss of a man of hope and peace, cut down well before the full bloom of his great promise.

And we all suffer the agony of that terrible question, "Why?"

It is a question with a multitude of answers sufficient to satisfy the keenest intellect. But there is no answer to soothe the sorrow of the soul.

This is a time for mourning. But what of tomorrow when this time has passed? How is America to heal the malignant divisiveness which seems to infect a desperate and deranged few until law, order, due process and democratic process, even respect for the life of a fellow human are alien to the thinking of their twisted minds?

Of great importance is the need to break down the walls of isolation which exclude many Americans from sharing in the abundance of this Nation. Surely there is enough for all and certainly the more that is shared, the more there will be to share.

This was the driving spirit behind the quest of Senator Kennedy and it must be kept alive, nourished and permitted to flower.

We must also seek the common ground of our beliefs on which to build a greater tomorrow for all Americans, particularly those who now lean and depend on the more fortunate majority so that we may all stand together proudly and with self-dignity as fellow citizens.

Let us put aside our sharp differences that lead to divisiveness. They are too well defined as it is, too brutally sharp. Let us seek, instead, the fertile ground of common understanding so that we may work as reasonable men to adjudicate our differences and harmoniously join in the primary task of the building of America and the realization of its beautiful promise.

In doing this, we can root out the seeds of much of the violence and discord which threaten the streets, neighborhoods and citizens of this country.

But first we must restore government under law and promote security through order.

The breakdown of law and order in America has done more to alienate our citizens and promote divisiveness than any other single factor. And this factor must be eliminated if our Nation is not to be transformed from America the beautiful to America the lawless jungle.

Heretofore, I have held that public safety and security is the primary responsibility of our local law enforcement agencies and officers. I have been very reluctant to see the Federal Government interpose itself in this field though I fully supported the Safe Streets Act which passed the House last year, and will support the legislation before us today.

This bill is designed to assist local law officials. But more is needed and if that need is a massive infusion of Federal funds, then so be it.

Last night President Johnson announced the establishment of a Presidential Commission to dissect and report on the anatomy of violence in America.

This is well and good. But it is not sufficient for the Congress, the direct representative body of the people. We have a responsibility to act and to act now.

Therefore, I suggest the creation of a special congressional task force on law and order to immediately study and make recommendations for additional legislation to assist local law-enforcement agencies and officials in protecting the law-abiding citizens of America from the street thugs that seemingly wander among us with ease, thumbing their nose at authority and inflicting injury on decent and helpless citizens.

The work of this congressional task force should not require a great deal of time or money. The Congress and agencies of the Federal Government have the statistics, facts, and data. We

know the incidence of crime increase and the statistical breakdown for America. We know of the deadly trafficking in firearms which threatens every family in every State, county, and community in America. We know the needs of our courts and the needs of our local police agencies. Too many thugs go free for failure to prosecute. Too many thugs are freed only to commit additional criminal acts because our courts are too crowded to assure speedy prosecution.

We already know these things. Now let us act. Let us continue forward with the much needed social programs to enhance and promote the living environment of America. But let us rid society, hopefully by restraint, but through confinement if necessary, of the lawless vermin who have no respect or concept of the rights of others.

This Nation was conceived under law. It grew under law. It will perish without it.

Laws, of course, cannot change the hearts of men. But proper law enforcement leading to domestic security can promote an atmosphere of genuine tranquillity conducive to reasoned thinking through the absence of fear.

Senator Robert Kennedy, in many respects, exemplified the finest qualities of American life which have contributed to America's greatness.

He was a man of strong conviction. He was a man of great inherited wealth whose concern was not for his own welfare but for the welfare of his entire Nation, and particularly those who have been denied the opportunity to participate in the building and share in the promise of America. He was a man of the highest personal integrity. He was a man who profoundly believed that America's golden days lay in the bright future, not some bygone era of the distant past.

Finally, he was a man of great personal and political courage. In speaking of courage, Senator Kennedy's late brother, President John F. Kennedy, once wrote:

For at all the levels of our national life, each man is sometimes called upon to stand for what he believes to be right against the pressures and opinions of friends, fellow workers, constituents, or the force of popular attitude.

One may agree or disagree with the public positions and stands of Senator Kennedy, but there is no denying he never lacked this courage.

Hon. Fernand J. St Germain

OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. Speaker, the untimely passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a tragic loss to the Kennedy family, which has already known far too many tragedies; for our Nation, which so badly needs the greatness which he embodied; and for mankind, toward whose betterment he so vigorous and unselfishly gave of himself.

We are a lesser people at a very troubled time. We are a deeply saddened Nation.

Those of us who are privileged to be numbered among his friends are acutely aware of the deep feelings Senator Robert Kennedy had for our Nation and the problems which beset him. He continuously sought new approaches to the complex problems we face as a Nation and as a society as he struck at the very root causes of our Nation's problems and groped for understanding and resolution in those dark areas of our society where so few dared to tread in the past.

The late, beloved President John F. Kennedy appealed to all Americans to ask what they could do for our country.

No other American responded so quickly or so vigorously as did his own brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose affirmative and positive reply could only be stopped by a bullet.

No other American could have given more toward the solution of our Nation's ills.

No other American could have been more concerned about the underprivileged and their plight.

No other American could have worked harder toward the removal of the violence which has swept our Nation and which claimed the death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy. And yet, Senator Kennedy fell victim to the very violence which he worked so hard to curb and remove.

It is a time for all Americans to mourn, but it is also a time for America to look within, to identify the cancerous areas of its society that so corrupts the mind of its people as to lead them to violence and which makes violence a ready substitute for the orderly and meaningful process of life.

We can do no more as a nation at this time than to dedicate ourselves to those ideals which Senator Robert Kennedy so well embodied and for which he gave his very life.

I shall personally continue to dedicate myself to the work which Senator Robert Kennedy so generously gave of himself, and I call upon all Americans to respond vigorously and positively to the late President John F. Kennedy's appeal to ask what you can do for our country.

President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy, have provided both the light and the inspiration. We have a great debt to pay to them.

Let us begin.

Hon. George H. Fallon

OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, all of us are saddened and gravely concerned over the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was felled by an assassin's bullet. It was an overwhelming tragedy to happen to one so young, particularly difficult when he was so energetic, and in the prime of life with everything to live for.

Senator Kennedy believed that America must go forward if it is to survive and he gave his talents to the growth of our Nation. His wife, Ethel, has lost a devoted husband, and his children a kind and good father. The Nation has lost a gallant leader.

While this is an occasion of deep sorrow, it should be also one of rededication. This shocking and unbelievable violence is another tragedy in a series of tragedies of violence that is indicative of the unrest and disregard of the law that is plaguing our Nation. Perhaps Senator Kennedy's death will teach us again the bitter but positive lesson of the importance of law and order. Certainly, steps should be taken immediately by the Congress to enact strong and effective legislation that eventually will restore the proper respect for the law and its enforcement. It is vital that we rededicate ourselves toward that end.

Mrs. Fallon and I wish to express our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her family and other members of the Kennedy family.

Hon. Frank Annunzio
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, it is not uncommon to see wealthy men walking the streets dressed virtually in rags. The question is always asked, "If he is so wealthy, why does he dress like that?" And, the answer is quite obvious. The man is wealthy because he does not spend any money on anything.

Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, was not such a man. He was endowed not only with financial wealth but also with a great mind, a keen sense of awareness, and above all, an earnest desire to help others, particularly the less fortunate.

Senator Robert Kennedy's estate in nearby McLean, Hickory Hill, was frequently a playground for underprivileged children from Washington's Junior Village and other institutions for orphans or unwanted children. He gave of his time, his energy, and his money to help the underprivileged, yet he sought no reward nor publicity for these acts.

Washingtonians can well remember the telethon staged last winter by Senator Kennedy to raise money for Junior Village. As a politician, it would have been extremely easy for Senator Kennedy to use the telethon as a form to gain publicity but rather he shunned the spotlight completely so that more time could be spent in raising funds to help this worthwhile project.

In 1963, Chicago was privileged to have Senator Kennedy, then Attorney General of the United States, serve as grand marshal of the annual Columbus Day parade sponsored by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans. Mr. Speaker, along with millions of other Americans, my wife and my family join in expressing our condolences to Senator Kennedy's family.

A great man has died, but because of his greatness, the work that he has accomplished will never die.

Hon. Alexander Pirnie
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I mourn today the untimely death of our distinguished Senator from the State of New York, Robert Francis Kennedy. The tragedy which marked his passing has shocked

our Nation and the world, recalling the horror of that November day in 1963 when the same fate befell his brother and our beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

The sacrifice which this family has laid on the altar of public service is very great, one that will long be remembered. The sorrow which has come to the family is beyond comprehension. We extend to his devoted wife Ethel, and their wonderful children our heartfelt sympathy, and we express the hope that the knowledge that their grief is shared by so many millions will bring comfort and strength.

Senator Kennedy endeared himself to the masses who responded to his presence with wild enthusiasm. They admired his alert mind, youthful vigor, and personal charm. He was an articulate advocate of the causes he espoused. Also, at the age of 42, he had already served his country in the Senate and the Cabinet, as well as playing a prominent role in the major decisions of the administration of President Kennedy. There was every reason to believe that even greater career contributions lay ahead. Such can still be the case, for no greater tribute could be paid his memory than for this Nation to dedicate itself to the restoration of law and order. People in the United States deserve to live, secure in life and property. All the progress he sought, all the hopes we have for our future, need such a foundation upon which to build. The curse of lawlessness and the assassin's bullet must be removed. This tragedy compels us to find the way to do this.

In our prayers, in a very real sense, we pray not only for the Kennedy family but for our beloved Nation. May we salvage out of this ghastly tragedy a new determination to restore the faith and discipline so necessary to achieve a better and more united country.

Hon. Leslie C. Arends
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, all the people from all walks of life and all sections of the country mourn the untimely death of the distinguished Senator from New York, Mr. Kennedy. It is beyond understanding why an assassin's bullet should take from us a young man who gave so much of him-

self for causes in which he so earnestly believed and so ably advocated.

It matters not that some of us did not necessarily concur in his views. It matters only that he shared with all of us a love of country and was willing to give his very best for our country.

This utterly senseless murder should bestir us to a belated recognition that we must give new direction to our country. What is sorely needed is moral leadership. We need to revitalize those principles that made our country strong and great. We need to restore respect for law and order. We need to reemphasize, again and again, in everything we do and say, that freedom does not mean solely rights. It also means responsibilities.

What concerns me is not merely the increase in crime but that it is a symptom of something deeper and more deadly in the body politic, and for which there is no quick and easy cure. We cannot legislate morality, but we can furnish the moral leadership essential for our continuing to be a free society of God-fearing, hard-working, self-reliant people.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the entire Kennedy family who have contributed so much in the service of our country and fellow men.

Hon. Sidney R. Yates
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy leaves in our national political life a gap that will not easily be filled. Senator Kennedy played a unique role in making our system of government responsive to the needs and aspirations of all the people. His courageous and imaginative leadership in the area of minority rights and poverty legislation provided a rallying point within the Government for millions of Americans who might otherwise have felt themselves to be without real representation. Senator Kennedy was a man of understanding and compassion. A wealthy man himself, he was an articulate spokesman for the millions of oppressed Americans who live in grinding poverty amidst affluence unparalleled in human history. With the passage of time he achieved a maturity and a beneficent philosophy which tempered his many dynamic personal traits.

Robert Kennedy was above all else a man committed—and he sought to commit this Nation of ours to becoming the moral, not the military, leader of the world. His mission was to translate his personal commitment as a man and an American into a national commitment. Robert Kennedy reiterated time and time again that the basic question facing the country today is, "What does this Nation stand for?" It is a question made all the more urgent by the tragic circumstances of Senator Kennedy's death. We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of mere mourning—tears and lamentation by themselves run the risk of becoming an unworthy substitute for the uncompromising commitment to social justice and the moral exercise of power that can provide the only true memorial to Robert Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy embodied much of which is best in man. It is fitting that we grieve and offer our heartfelt condolences to his fine family, however inadequate these expressions might be. We can wish that he had lived longer, because he had so much to offer his country; but we can also take some solace in the fact that he passed his 42 years so well, that he had made a great contribution. It is our responsibility to heed his appeal to our national conscience and work toward building the kind of Nation he envisioned—nothing else will do.

Hon. John W. Byrnes
OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, words cannot express my horror and shock at the brutal slaying of Senator Kennedy. My thoughts, like those of every American, turn to his loved ones and my deepest sympathy and prayers are with his widow, his children, and the Kennedy family.

Senator Kennedy devoted his life to public service. His career was a brilliant one. He served at the highest levels in the executive branch during the administration of his brother, the late John F. Kennedy. He was a distinguished U.S. Senator. He was struck down after winning important victories in his quest for the nomination of his party for the President of the United States.

This Nation, no nation, can afford to have its public leaders struck down in such senseless fashion. None of us here presumes, I am sure, to know

what the remedy is; none of us here, however, can fail to recognize that it must be found. We must return to respect for law and order in this country. We must restore reason and logic to action. No nation can long endure where violence and hate determine the course of events.

The death of this young leader is a tragedy—for all of America. We owe to him and his family a concerted national effort to make sure that he did not die in vain and that from it we will learn and apply those lessons which will eliminate the scourge of violence from our national life.

Hon. Arch A. Moore, Jr.
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, our Nation has experienced another tragic and shattering event in the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

During my service in the Congress of the United States and particularly in my duties on the Committee on the Judiciary during the days that he was the Attorney General of the United States, I had the opportunity to observe the intensity and the dedication of Robert Kennedy. This Nation of ours has lost a very devoted American and public servant who spoke plainly of his thoughts and feelings on the issues of our times. He has contributed much to the dialog that seeks to find answers to the problems of America today.

On Capitol Hill, we have lost a valuable public servant, American, an intense member of our society and the Kennedy family have lost another to the history of our Nation.

The sympathies of my family and myself are extended to Mrs. Kennedy, their children and to the Kennedy family.

Hon. Olin E. Teague
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, I am greatly concerned for the welfare and future of our great country. There was a day that most of us in this body can remember that an individual in public office could travel the length and breadth of this country and espouse his political beliefs without fear of reprisal. In fact this was true of any individual of public acclaim. Apparently events of the past

several months have shown that such is not the case today. We have progressed into a truly affluent and Great Society but are now beginning to reap the misfortunes and ills that accompany such a position unless we continually keep our guard against permissiveness, crime, and loss of our heritage.

Tragedy has again struck the Kennedy family, a family who have devoted themselves to public service. As was the case of our late President John Kennedy, his brother Robert was not the victim of an enemy of our country but rather the victim of an individual who just did not think and believe as he did. Somewhere along the line while attaining our affluent position, we have lost sight of the basic rights which made this country great, freedom of thought and freedom of speech with open debate. No longer are areas of disagreement discussed by intelligent men but rather it seems we have resorted to "mob rule" wherein if you disagree with an individual, a law or anything else, you merely demonstrate against or kill the person with whom you disagree.

Certainly the hearts and prayers of everyone in this Nation will be for Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her 10 children and the unborn child of her husband Robert, who have been left to grieve over this senseless and wanton murder of husband and father.

Mr. Speaker, dark days are upon this Nation until we return to some form of sanity and begin to realize that the strongest basis for any society is law and order and respect for same.

Hon. Charles A. Vanik
OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, the sad news of Senator Robert Kennedy's tragic death early this morning deprives our country of one of its greatest leaders. The grief of the Kennedy family is the grief of the American people.

Senator Kennedy's appeals were to the conscience of America. He directed our attention to the needs of the handicapped, the unwanted, the overlooked poor and hungry, and he reminded us of our obligations to the elderly.

He traveled the entire land; he climbed the mountains of the Northwest; he met the challenging rapids in the canyons of the Southwest; he sailed New England waters and he walked

through hamlets of Appalachia. He knew the farms of the Dakota's and the teeming public places in every crowded city square. He knew America in a friendly, warm way—and America knew him.

He was positive, direct, and challenging. He took strong positions of leadership. He was indifferent to consensus. He was impatient with times and forces which rejected change toward betterment.

Forthright courage of position on the issues of the day developed opposition. He had scores of bitter enemies and multitudes of enthusiastically loyal friends. Integrity of position was his hallmark.

I was with him in Cleveland the day after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. In hushed voice, Senator Kennedy delivered a eulogy on the life and work of Dr. King and then spoke of the need for restoring law and order to the American scene. He was visibly shocked by the horror of violence to a man of peace.

He pleaded for both progress and compassion as worthy American goals—his unfinished business has now become our duty.

Hon. Al Ullman

OF OREGON

Mr. Speaker, the shock and grief of Senator Robert Kennedy's death have stunned the Nation and the Congress. The second assassination in the Kennedy family is a tragedy of immense proportions, not just for that great family, but for all America.

This pattern of violence against public leaders and against public policy must somehow be brought to a halt if our free institutions are to survive. We have lost one of our finest leaders at a time when the Nation needed him the most.

We must respond as intelligent human beings at every level of society and government to seek out the causes and to pursue remedies to this malady that has now struck down Robert Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy spoke a new language of politics, one of compassion for the less fortunate of our Nation and of positive dedication to the cause of finding solutions to our Nation's ills.

His death is a great loss to America during this era of crises. We need to pray, not just for him, but for this Nation that such a monstrous crime could again occur, and that we may survive this orgy of violence and strife.

My deepest sympathy goes to Senator Kennedy's family.

Hon. Arnold Olsen

OF MONTANA

Mr. Speaker, Robert F. Kennedy is dead. Today I and my family join with all Americans in expressing sincere sympathy to the Kennedy family. Today that fine family, already overburdened with grief, has been grieved once again. Today, another dream for a better America has been cut short and turned into a nightmare for all Americans, and, once again, in stunned bewilderment we ask each other why. Today this question remains unanswered just as it did April 4 in Memphis and November 22, 1963, in Dallas.

Like his brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Robert Kennedy had resources which would have enabled him to choose an easier path through life. But, like his brother, he had an intense dedication to a continuing search for the goals which would make this a better country in which to live. Like his brother, he chose to serve his country.

And with that choice came an unswerving courage to speak out on the important issues facing our Nation. Always speaking with candor regardless of the political consequences, Robert Kennedy had a special dedication to the causes of the underprivileged, of the poor, of minority groups, and of all among us who have not had the opportunity to make a better life for themselves.

All of his actions were marked with an intensity. He lived life fully. I always felt a personal closeness to Senator Kennedy because he, too, loved the West with its wilderness areas, its wild rivers, and its scenic mountains. Together with his wife and family, he frequently traveled to the West for recreation in the wilderness areas.

The loss is great. From a courageous wife and 10 children, a husband and father has been taken away. The Nation and the world have been deprived of an articulate and dedicated worker for progress. And the poor, the underprivileged,

and minority groups have been deprived of a dear friend and spokesman.

Today, as we mourn Senator Kennedy, we must look to the future and we, as a nation, must look within ourselves for the factors which have contributed to an atmosphere conducive to such tragedy as we have seen in this decade—tragedy which has robbed us of some of our finest and most dedicated young leaders.

Mr. Speaker, our hearts and our prayers go out today to the Kennedy family. As a nation, we join in their grief. I am hopeful the Commission appointed by President Johnson will, with the help of God, help us to heal our wounds and reach the goal for our Nation for which our young, fallen leaders were searching.

Hon. James C. Cleveland

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sadness and a sense of a great national loss that I learned of the death of Senator Robert Kennedy this morning. It was a tragic, senseless crime, a crime without meaning, born out of hate. My heart goes out to his family, who once again must bear the grief caused by an assassin's bullet.

These are indeed times that try men's souls. And, indeed, these are times when we should search our souls. We offer prayers and sympathy for Mrs. Kennedy and her children, but surely we must do more. For senseless violence and shocking crime is not confined to the men who hold high office, although it is true that when they are struck down, the impact may seem more sharply focused and the tragedy more dramatic. The fact is that violence and disrespect for the law have reached proportions that cry aloud for redress.

Surely our prayers and sympathy for Senator Kennedy's family will be more meaningful if they are matched by a resolve and determination to frontally assault the root causes of the evil.

Hon. Basil L. Whitener

OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Speaker, I share the great shock felt by every American over the tragic and untimely

death of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York.

The passing of Senator Kennedy reminds all of us how close mortal man is to eternity. Truly, in the midst of life, we are in the midst of death.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been taken from us in the prime of his life. He was a dynamic young man with a vision and a goal for himself and his fellowman. He believed in the American system and he fought for the principles for which he stood.

He served his Nation in war and in peace. He was a man of courage and conviction. He has left behind a record of accomplishment of which the people of his great State and the Nation can be justly proud.

Mrs. Whitener joins me in extending to the members of the late Senator Kennedy's family our sincere condolences upon the tragic loss which they have sustained.

Hon. Cornelius E. Gallagher

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, upon learning of Senator Kennedy's shooting yesterday, I was shocked and sickened. The news of his death this morning adds a profound sense of sadness to those feelings. My prayers and the prayers of all Americans go out to the brave family of the late Senator as well as to this Nation which has suffered too much undue tragedy in these times.

Mr. Speaker, how does one begin to describe or pay homage to a career as brilliant and inspiring as that of the late Senator Kennedy? How does one recount the tale of his splendid service to the people of the United States and to the people of the world? And, how does one acknowledge the contributions he made toward the realization of the great principles upon which this Republic is founded and from which this Republic takes strength?

There are no words to answer these questions. There are no words to describe even our own anguish at this brutal assassination. Perhaps, however, in death as in life the words of Robert F. Kennedy himself provide us with some measure of understanding of events like these.

Speaking after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Senator Kennedy stated that:

Violence never accomplishes anything * * * no martyr's cause is ever stilled by violence * * * the sniper is not a hero, he is a coward.

Certainly, these words ring true again in this particular tragedy. The violence which struck down Senator Kennedy can neither erase the principles for which he fought nor the people who will continue to fight for them. The violence which struck down Senator Kennedy cannot end our determination to calm this troubled society but only renew our efforts toward preserving this magnificent democracy.

Mr. Speaker, for the sake of Senator Kennedy's memory, for the sake of the American people, let us hope that the Commission appointed by the President last night will force all of us to look deep inside ourselves to root out any justifications for violence and complacency toward the deterioration of our society's values.

If we can once again return to the values which motivated the initial mission of the United States, then we will have created the finest possible monument to Robert Francis Kennedy.

To his wonderful wife and children, no words, no monuments, no actions can reduce their loss or soften their grief. For Bob Kennedy was, above all things, a wonderful husband and an outstanding father. He will live in the memories of his wife and children as a husband and father first of all.

But he will live in all of our minds as does his brother John—young forever, and an inspiration in history to all who shall follow him, to all who are concerned about our Nation and its people, and to all who are concerned about the future of man on this troubled planet.

Hon. Lester L. Wolff
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there are not words with which I can adequately express my shock and deepest sorrow at the assassination of the very distinguished junior Senator from New York, Robert Francis Kennedy.

One might think the unfortunate events of recent years would have steeled us against assassination. This has not happened. And now, Mr. Speaker, I am groping for a way to express to the Senator's family my sincerest condolences.

I am sure they will understand how genuinely all America shares their grief.

Senator Kennedy, in 17 years of service in the Federal Government, distinguished himself in both the executive and legislative branches. He demonstrated judgment beyond his years and the energy of a man half his years. Blessed with unusual wisdom, he brought to public service his selfless and enduring commitment to the ideals that have long been part of the American dream. A dreamer and a realist both, Senator Kennedy worked with devotion to turn dreams into realities. He worked to make the promise of American life come true for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I mourn profoundly the death of this great public figure, this U.S. Senator, this proud father, this human being, my friend, Bob.

Hon. Henry Helstoski
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, once again a member of the Kennedy family has given up his life for our country. And, once again, this life was taken away as a result of an action created by a human being with a mind of a maniac.

Robert F. Kennedy is no longer with us, having been gunned down by an assailant who was a part of a gay gathering who were in a very happy mood over the victory in the California primary election as a candidate for President, on the Democratic Party ticket.

The first to lose his life was Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., who gave his life in the defense of our country, because of a war started by a demented Adolf Hitler.

John F. Kennedy was our beloved President when his life was snuffed out by an individual who must have been of unsound mental ability. This we will never know for the assassin was not permitted to live long after his cowardly attack. He, too, was cut down by gunshot days after the attack on our President.

And, today, all of America—yes all the world—sheds tears for Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, a Senator from the State of New York, and a candidate for nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

Robert F. Kennedy has served his country in many capacities and in each he served it well.

Immediately after the death of his brother, Joseph, Jr., he left Harvard University while in his sophomore year and volunteered for the Navy. He appeared at the office of James Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, and asked assignment to the destroyer *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.* His wish was granted and he served the entire 2 years of his naval service as a member of that ship. After service, he returned to Harvard to finish his schooling at that institution.

After Harvard, Bob Kennedy went to the University of Virginia Law School where he graduated 56th in a class of 126.

After completing his law school course, his first job with the Justice Department was that of attorney with the Department's Criminal Division. He then saw service in various capacities and with several Senate committees and subcommittees. This service was climaxed by his service as chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field.

When his brother, John, became President of the United States, Bob became the Attorney General of the United States and served in that capacity from January 21, 1961, to September 3, 1964. At that time, he ran for the Senate in his adopted State of New York and defeated the popular Republican Senator Kenneth Keating by 800,000 votes. His election marked the first instance in American history when three brothers of one family had served in the U.S. Senate.

Another first in the Kennedy family political picture is the fact that all three brothers have served the United States simultaneously in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. John F. as President, Edward M. as Senator, and Robert F. as Attorney General.

At 42, the age at his death, Senator Robert Kennedy had been in public life a decade and a half, and his loss leaves only the youngest of the Kennedy sons, Edward M., to carry on the political tradition of the family.

As President Johnson said:

During his life, he knew far more than his share of personal tragedy. Yet he never abandoned his faith in America. He never lost his confidence in the spiritual strength of ordinary men and women.

It is incredible that so much tragedy can strike a single family in the fashion experienced by the Kennedy family, the two crimes which

cut down John F. and Robert F. were so senseless, so without purpose.

I extend to the entire Kennedy family my deepest sympathies in the hour of their greatest loss. Even in this hour of greatest sorrow, Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., can take great pride that she is the only mother in American history to have had three sons serving as officials in each branch of our National Government.

I hope and I pray that this senseless killing will bring America to its collective feet and take such action as is necessary to bring about a curbing of the violence that lurks in our country. The incidence of violence has been spreading very rapidly in our society and our image in the world has fallen to a new low and voices from around the world sounded their puzzlement at America's actions.

Hon. Lionel Van Deerlin OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, I am heartsick about the death of Senator Kennedy. In the 42 years allotted him, he had already accomplished far more than most men can hope to do in a much longer lifetime, and he was clearly on the verge of even greater achievements.

It is always a shock when so promising a young man is cut down in the prime.

In the case of Robert Kennedy, the shock and the sense of loss are doubly great, because of the special affection I have for the Kennedy family, and because his death adds so cruelly to the great burden of tragedy carried by this distinguished family.

There is very little one can say at a time like this. I hope his family, warmed by his memory, can find the strength to carry on in spite of the misfortunes which must at times seem almost unbearably harsh.

Hon. Donald J. Irwin OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately express one's feelings in this hour of national tragedy resulting from the senseless assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy.

But I think we must pause and give sober reflection to the irony and sadness imposed by history on the fantastic Kennedy family.

No family should be forced to sustain what the Kennedy's have endured—and you can only admire the bravery of Mrs. Ethel Kennedy who now must carry on without her husband and rear those 10 wonderful children.

We, the people of this Nation, must stop and think and pray—for Robert Kennedy and his brother, John, the late President—and also for the members of the Kennedy family left behind. We must do what we can to sustain them in this dark hour.

But then we must think of ourselves and ponder what we can do to get this world and this Nation back on the right track.

Instant formulas and spur-of-the-moment solutions obviously are not the answer. But I am convinced that sound and deliberate thinking can and will guide us down the proper path.

And from what I know of the American people, they have the capacity—and the will—to do what has to be done.

This is not a time, Mr. Speaker, for national hysteria. It is not a time for panic or fear.

But it is a time for us to develop a sense of restraint—and a time for us to reflect soberly upon the tremendous responsibilities confronting us.

If we do this, Mr. Speaker, I am confident that we will find our way to the solutions of the problems shocking our Nation today.

Hon. Charles H. Griffin
OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. Speaker, I share the shock and grief of untold millions throughout the world in the tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Senator Kennedy was an articulate spokesman for the causes he espoused. My deepest sympathy is extended to his family in their bereavement.

The almost unbelievable manner in which he died should cause us to pause and consider where this Nation is headed. America is at the crossroads. We can choose the road to freedom, safety, and liberty or we can travel the road of violence, anarchy, and national oblivion.

Unquestionably, the alarming trends toward defiance of the law have contributed to the mushrooming spread of violence which threatens to engulf our Nation. However, I reject the notion that the entire American society must bear a collective guilt for this heinous crime or others which have rocked our Nation in recent times.

The vast majority of the people of this Nation have a deep allegiance to the concept of law and order. We can no longer allow a handful of self-styled anarchists to endanger the very foundations of this Republic by conforming to only those laws with which they agree. If basic freedoms and rights are to be enjoyed in any nation, it is necessary that individual citizens likewise, fulfill their responsibilities to the whole society. It is time that our leaders began emphasizing the duties of citizenship rather than the so-called rights of criminals, insurrectionists, and chronic malcontents.

Morality is the only answer to this growing problem, and morality can neither be legislated nor administered by government. It must prevail in the hearts, minds, and souls of each person. It must be preached and practiced by every leader with influence in his community and vocation. Especially important is the fact that political leaders should constantly stress that only a law-abiding society can preserve the traditions and ideals of the Republic.

Hon. Joseph G. Minish
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, the outpouring of grief throughout the world at his tragic death is a measure of the superb qualities of mind and heart with which Senator Kennedy was so abundantly endowed. The Nation and the world are better for his extraordinary contribution to the history of our times. A man born to wealth, he had an unusual sensitivity to human suffering and deprivation that spurred him relentlessly to better the lot of all mankind. He believed, in the words of his brother, the beloved President Kennedy, that:

If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

He was wholly committed, with all the intensity of his strong nature, to securing a more enlightened, just, and whole society, and he devoted his remarkable vigor, determination, and ability to securing the programs and policies that he believed would best meet the enormous problems of a rapidly changing society.

Robert Kennedy, the man of dynamic action, would not wish us to mourn him with words of tribute. Rather, he would ask of us, with his characteristic combination of the practical and the idealistic, to go forward with a greater sense of urgency to effectuate the objectives to which he dedicated his life and death. Let us in this hour of sorrow renew our own commitment to what Robert Kennedy stood for: hope and reconciliation and progress at home and peace among nations.

We can immediately translate our grief into action by enacting without further senseless delay the pending crime control legislation. As a sponsor of the strong gun control legislation advocated by Senator Kennedy, I urge that we act to prevent further tragedies by adequate firearms restrictions. The lives of three noble leaders—President Kennedy, Dr. King, and Senator Kennedy—have been snuffed out by violence and hate. The prevalence of violence in our cities is a peril alike to liberty and to public safety. Reason and reconciliation must triumph over violence and hatred.

Senator Kennedy lived life fully with a dauntless and joyful spirit that triumphed over tragedies and heartbreaks that would have crushed a lesser man. He has won an enduring place in history and left a lasting mark upon the shape of our Nation.

Hon. John S. Monagan OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, I mourn the tragic death of Senator Robert Kennedy.

I knew him well and the people of my district vividly recall his endurance and enthusiasm as a fellow campaigner.

He exemplified the family dedication to service of the people. While he might have lived a life of ease and luxury, he spurned this easy path and dedicated himself to the arduous and demanding job of public office. It is a tragic irony

that he should have been struck down by the passion of unreason in the midst of his youth and at a time when he was in his own way making a contribution to the vitality of our democratic system.

I earnestly hope that his death may serve as an eloquent argument against the current trend toward the use of force and illegality in the solution of personal and national problems.

His wife and children and all his family have my deepest sympathy.

Hon. William H. Bates OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, there is grief and frustration throughout the Nation today.

We are passing through a period of stress, rebellion, violence, and irresponsibility, and it was in that climate that the life of Senator Robert F. Kennedy was so needlessly taken.

The repeated tragedies suffered by the Kennedy family touch the hearts of our countrymen, and we turn in prayer in the hope that these sacrifices can somehow be equated with meaningful developments which will assure a better and brighter America for all its people.

Robert F. Kennedy was a controversial figure because he dealt with controversial subjects. He was a restless person, and the status quo was to him a relic of the past that had to give way to the inevitable progress that was destined for his nation. He seemed to believe that there was a place for him in national and world leadership that he chose not to evade, regardless of his disposition toward such duty. He died in responding to that call.

As we express our deep feeling of shock and sorrow to his family, all of us must join together in a pledge to bring about a return to a sense of safety and sanity throughout the land.

Senator Kennedy himself, time and again, tempered his proposals with an appeal for thoughtful action, with respect for law and order, rather than resort to senseless acts of violence—such as that which has now befallen him and which 4½ years ago took his distinguished brother, President John F. Kennedy, from our midst. We pray that the plea for calmness, reason, and resolve will be heard and heeded in America at this hour.

Many of the steps espoused by Senator Kennedy have been taken toward removing the seeds of discontent and violence, but others must be taken. The House is acting today on legislation designed to curtail crime and make our streets safer from the criminally sick. This legislation is but an initial step, and more effective gun control laws should be enacted forthwith.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, neither the Congress nor the President by themselves can eradicate the virulence evidenced in so many frightened ways today—but if the vast majority of the American people unite with determination and faith, I am sure that God will give us the guidance to overcome the causes of the disease of violence and its threats of anarchy. May the memory of John and Robert Kennedy resolve us to that course.

Hon. Edith Green OF OREGON

Mr. Speaker, we will all mourn the loss of something in the loss of Robert Kennedy. Some will mourn the loss of a leader; others, the loss of an innovator; still others, the loss of a Senator. Some will mourn the loss of a father and husband; others, the loss of a son, or a brother, or a friend. But I hope that we will not fail to mourn, quite simply, the loss of a man—a living, breathing, caring, and suffering man, a man who cannot live or breathe again, who will not have the supreme good fortune to care deeply about something in this country, or suffer from something ever again. A vibrant, joyful person is dead; his voice irrevocably stilled. I am certain that John Donne was right:

Any man's death diminisheth me, for I am involved in mankind. And therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee.

And so I find myself admittedly a mourner. And a mourner must reminisce, however harsh the modern maxim: "Be thou not sentimental." And I discover that I am not reminiscing so much about the Senator, or the candidate, or the critic, or the leader of men, as I find myself reminiscing about the essential phenomenon which was the man himself. It was the man that strolled, barefoot and slumped in thought down a gray, lonely beach in Oregon. It was the man who looked with a combination of confusion and

compassion into the eyes of someone who had traveled many miles just to hate. It was the man who cheered his despondent supporters after defeat in Oregon. It was the man that could become impassioned about racketeering, critical and discouraged over our course in Vietnam, emotional about the disadvantaged in America, desperate about the inversion of our priorities at home and abroad—and he admitted it.

No amount of eulogy, no amount of regret or national soul-searching or academic analysis of the climate of our society, no amount of penitential legend-making, no pedestal in the hall of fame or gravesite at Arlington will bring back the man to his family, his friends, and those who believed in him and his cause.

It was Goethe who said:

We ask not that a man be a hero, but only that he be everything that makes a man.

Robert Kennedy was such a man.

Hon. Harold D. Donohue OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, when the historians of tomorrow, please God in a more tranquil time, write the reality of this turbulent period of American uncertainty the name of Robert Francis Kennedy will be indelibly inscribed forever as the compassionate, self-disciplined individual, loving husband, tender father, generous competitor, brilliant public servant, and dedicated American that he truly was.

Few, indeed, would turn away from a most humanly attractive course of ease and indulgence and cheerfully take up the unique challenges, hardships, disappointments, jealousies, harassments, dangers, and even the possibility of death in public service to his country and his fellow men. But that is what we know he did.

He early observed and recognized the modern evils increasingly threatening the dissolution of his country and the demise of the world. He tried valiantly to stop their advance and to heal the awful harms they had generated.

In the pursuit of this mission, of his destiny, violent death was visited upon him. If the sacrifice of his life would serve to move us ahead toward the swifter attainment of domestic tranquility and world peace he would have willingly

made it, and he did. That was his nature and his will; he was a brave and gallant man.

So it remains for us, in memorable purpose, to hasten the accomplishment of his goals through the inspiration of his stirring example of heroic action. Without such action our rhetoric unending will be unworthy.

No matter what we do, however, his glory will remain eternally shining on the brightest pages of our annals. But in rightful tribute to his magnificent spirit let us honor ourselves by pledging to work together to bind up the wounds of this country and speed on to the restoration of law and order in each community, tolerance and understanding throughout the land we love, good will and peace around this world despairing. In no other way can we justify his supreme sacrifice.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues here in extending my heartfelt sympathy in their grievous sorrow to his gracious wife, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, his children, his brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, and sisters and parents while praying that the good Lord will grant them each the grace of sustaining courage and understanding resignation to His divine and mysterious will.

May this great soul of Robert Francis Kennedy rest in peace.

Hon. Edward J. Derwinski

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the shocking murder of Senator Robert Kennedy is a tragedy that follows in the terrible pattern of lawlessness, disrespect for authority, and deliberate rejection of law and order which have been permitted to sweep the country in recent years. Violence is contrary to our Nation's political principles, and the tragic death of Senator Kennedy affects us all.

Mrs. Derwinski and I have known Senator Kennedy and his family and extend to Mrs. Kennedy and the children our deepest sympathy.

When a nation receives a terrible shock such as this murder causes, we must reassess the situation and in this instance strongly resolve to halt the violence and anarchy which is sweeping the

land. The bullet is not a substitute for the ballot. We have been a law-abiding nation, respecting the framework of our constitutional government and the opportunity that our system gives to those who devote themselves to public service and civic accomplishment. Senator Kennedy was a spirited national leader with a record of service and accomplishment known to all. I hope and pray that this shocking event will profoundly influence all Americans to support and maintain law and order within the framework of our proven established institutions.

Hon. Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Speaker, these are indeed "times that try men's souls." Again our country has been shaken to its very foundations by the tragic assassination of a distinguished American. Robert F. Kennedy was a man of exceptional courage, honesty, and integrity. He was a proud member of one of the most renowned, accomplished, and truly great families in the history of the modern world.

Mr. Speaker, since the days of my youth, I have admired Ambassador Joe Kennedy. When he was Ambassador to England I supported his philosophy and his ideas concerning Europe and our world of that day. When I came to the Congress in January 1947, I learned to admire and respect the late John F. Kennedy. John F. Kennedy was a great man and a great world leader. His untimely death was one of the great tragedies of American history. Now to see under similar circumstances his brother Robert F. Kennedy, a strong contender for the Presidency and Senator from the great State of New York, assassinated, is most difficult for all patriotic Americans to bear. We can only hope that out of this tragedy will come more respect for those men serving in public office and for those candidates who aspire to serve the people in positions of public trust. We can only hope that the American people will have a new resolve to uphold law and order and protect and preserve our great democratic institutions from violence and anarchy.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Dorn joins me in extending to this noble family, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, and her wonderful children my heartfelt and deepest sympathy.

Hon. Leonard Farbstein

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there seem to be no words left to describe the feelings of horror evoked by the cruel assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I am appalled by his death, but in recent times I have so often used the words "of horror" which our language offers us that they too seem debased and inadequate to the situation. I can only say that this senselessness has got to stop, for surely as this Congress sits today, we are doomed to vanish, like the Roman Empire, into the quicksand of our own unworthiness.

Senator Kennedy, at the age of 42, had already given to his country more than most men who are far his senior. At 42, he had many years of important experience behind him, yet was only on the threshold of a career of public service to America which lay before him. He was a man of determination, of strong ideas, of great vision. Because he was such a decisive man, he stirred much controversy. He brought out the deepest emotions of love and hate. But few would question that he had much to contribute to his country in wisdom and dedication. By personal experience, Robert Kennedy knew what was wrong with this land and, because he was so committed to correcting this wrong, he was able to face it unflinchingly. Senator Kennedy was a knight among bowsmen, a man who enjoyed leading and who lead fearlessly. His courage cost him his life. The United States of America has reason to be thankful for the contributions Robert Kennedy made in his brief life and to grieve for the great potential that was lost to it.

I extend my condolences to the Kennedy family, which has already given so much of itself to our country.

Hon. John W. Wydler

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, the news of the shooting of Robert Kennedy is tragic. His family and the man deserve our prayers. My personal reaction to another insane shooting is one of horror. As a nation it is important to remain calm and to think clearly.

All of us serving in public life deplore the intolerance for opposing ideas and the violence by which some in our society act against them. The combination is deadly. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, as violence breeds other violence.

It is a time for reflection, for prayer and for deserved respect for those in public service.

Hon. Henry S. Reuss

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, once again a dark shadow has fallen across our land, and a time of anguish has been visited upon our people. Once again a brave young leader has been taken from us, the bright promise of his life snuffed out by an assassin's bullet.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was a man of many contrasts. A tenacious fighter for the right, his moral fervor and deep idealism had prompted him to enter the lists against mankind's most bitter enemies—war and poverty. And yet he was also a dreamer. He would often quote these words by George Bernard Shaw:

Some men dream the dream that was and ask, "Why?"
I dream the dream that never was and ask, "Why not?"

Here, then, is one of the great ironies and tragedies of history—a delicate and tender prince, cut down by a senseless lackey. The great hope for America is that mothers and fathers can impart to their children the courage and the the beauty and the compassion of Robert Kennedy, and that from this a better America may emerge.

May God be with his family—and with us all—in this hour of sorrow.

Hon. Michael A. Feighan

OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming shock and sorrow which grips our country over the assassination of Senator Kennedy is numbing to the sensibility of all civilized people. Senator Kennedy's tragic death is not only a national, but an international tragedy. The people of our country are in a state of shock that a tragedy of such magnitude should again strike the Kennedy

family, and cut short the useful life of a brilliant man who has done so much for his fellow men. That a man so conscientious, so sincerely interested in the welfare of his country, should be taken from us by a stupid act, sharpens the tragedy. Our country has lost a distinguished and gifted servant.

To his widow, his children, his parents, and the entire Kennedy family, I extend my profound sympathy.

Hon. John Brademas

OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the world grieve at the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

He was a man of both courage and compassion.

He was intensely devoted to our country and its promise of opportunity for all our citizens. And he had a warm sense of humor.

What especially touched me about Senator Kennedy was his championing of the underdog—the poor, the children of the ghetto, the Negro, the migrant worker.

Senator Kennedy believed in America and in what, at its best, our country stands for.

Is it too much to hope that his cruel death, following the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, and Martin Luther King will lead Americans to greater respect for one another's views, even when they differ?

Is it too much to hope that people will cease to hate those with whom they disagree politically?

Is it too much to hope that all Americans will realize that the path of violence solves nothing, and that the path of peaceful persuasion is the only path for a free people to follow?

With other Americans, I pray that that day will soon come.

Hon. James C. Corman

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, we are today a nation bowed in grief at the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. We are a nation anguished at the realization that an assassin's bullet has extinguished the life of

another of our gifted and promising young men. We are a nation deeply sharing the grief of an oft-bereaved family.

Senator Kennedy gave extraordinary devotion to his country as the Attorney General of the United States and as a Member of the U.S. Senate from New York. The principles and causes he espoused during all the years of his public life are emblems of his faith in an America that would some day reach its potential for greatness. His deep concern for the individual in our society, and especially for those who have been denied the opportunity to share in America's bounty, is a hallmark of his consuming conviction that America's promise must not be denied to any of its citizens.

Senator Kennedy fervently dedicated himself to making a better life for those who are poor, for those who are uneducated, for those who are jobless, and, for those who are the victims of racial discrimination. Senator Kennedy, more than anyone else on the national scene today, recognized the fact that this Nation cannot continue to move toward two separate societies—one black and one white. His effective efforts in making racial justice in America a reality are symbolic of his beliefs that all men must be able to live in dignity.

We can only pray that Mrs. Kennedy, his children, and the Kennedy family can find solace in the knowledge that the Senator gave to the land he loved a blueprint of a society that will make the Bill of Rights a reality for all of its citizens. We can take courage in the days ahead from his last words, which reflect so poignantly his belief in America:

We are a great country. We are an unselfish people. We are a compassionate country.

Hon. Elmer J. Holland

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, these are the comments of a man who is on the verge of leaving public life. My decision to retire was made early this year, before the beginning of the chain of tragedies which has made of 1968 a year of horror.

I have always believed that public life, the honorable quest for, and conscientious service in public office was a career which I could with enthusiasm recommend to any young person. I

have always felt that it represented whatever might be the shortcomings of its practitioners a kind of commitment to the principle that man could learn to live with his neighbor not in constant agreement but at least in peace. Democratic politics to me has always been a vocation founded on the principle that we have found out how to settle amicably and without bloodshed the kind of differences of opinion that other societies needed to take to the barricades and the scaffold.

I still cling to that belief but my faith has been shaken.

Mr. Speaker, we are coming apart at the seams. We are on notice as a nation that we cannot protect any courageous young man who speaks out on any controversial issue from the insane whims of any animal who thinks that owning a gun makes him a man. We cannot protect the delicate fabric of the system we have so lovingly woven over the years. We cannot seemingly depend any more on the assumption that the ballot is our accepted mechanism of choice.

The blood of John Kennedy and his brother, Robert, the blood of Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers is watering some strange seeds in the fields of our Nation. What will spring up where that blood has been spilled, I do not know. None of us knows. Perhaps it will be the fruit of peace and understanding, grown at a horrible cost. Perhaps it will be the bitter fruit of further discord.

We grow old, Mr. Speaker. The Republic grows old, and its servants grow old with it, and we watch the bodies of young men being carried to their graves because of old hatreds and older injustices. What strange forms are waiting just ahead for public life in this once proud and free land I do not know. I am almost glad I am retiring. I am not sure that I would want to face the tomorrows of public life after the todays of this bloody spring.

Hon. James J. Delaney

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sorrow that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who died this morning as a result of an assassin's bullet. This cruel and inhuman assault has shocked the people of this Nation and the world.

Senator Kennedy was a dedicated public servant and a vigorous defender of the principles he cherished. His life was dedicated to serving others, and decent men and women throughout the world are stunned that his voice has been stilled by this brutal crime.

To his wife Ethel, his 10 children, and to other members of his family my wife and I extend our deepest sympathy. We pray that God may grant them the strength to carry them through the trying days ahead.

Hon. Ogden R. Reid

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert Kennedy spoke for youth, for the poor, and for the future with compassion and courage.

He knew events were far outrunning timid and often unimaginative responses of Government.

He saw clearly that America must change its course and that all Americans must participate responsibly in charting new directions.

His life was a commitment to action.

He keenly felt that America was involved with mankind and that man's inhumanity to man—whether in South Africa, in the ghettos and barrios of America, or in Vietnam—diminished us all.

His vision, his sense of urgency, his concern for reconciliation, his work for a just peace take on poignancy and added meaning to which the American people—and our Government—must now respond.

The thoughts and prayers of all Americans are with the Kennedy family.

Hon. F. Bradford Morse

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, words are sorrowfully inadequate to express the grief that we all feel at Senator Kennedy's death and the utter frustration that this courageous and talented man could be taken from us in such a cruel and cowardly way.

He died, as did his brother, for the majestic deals which have given impulse to the American dream from the very beginning of this Nation. The dark shadow cast over our

land can be lightened only if we who are blessed with life work to insure that those ideals will one day be achieved.

Our success will be the greatest tribute possible.

Hon. Don H. Clausen

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the untimely and senseless death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a national tragedy.

A dedicated American and devoted father and husband has been taken from us at a time when this country desperately needs dynamic leadership and the best thinking available. Senator Robert F. Kennedy demonstrated extraordinary courage and perseverance throughout his entire life. He gave of himself unstintingly and unselfishly so that all Americans might enjoy the maximum benefits of the American way of life.

Had he died in the defense of the cause he was fighting for at the time of his death, perhaps his passing would have more meaning for his family and for the American people. But, he did not and the sense of shock and despair, as a result, is even more saddening.

The subtle humor, quick wit, probing determination, and strong will of Senator Kennedy will be sorely missed on Capitol Hill and on the American political scene. But, more important than that, America has suffered a great loss—the loss of a U.S. Senator who cared enough to stand up and say what he believed about the compelling issues of our time.

While the beliefs of Senator Kennedy will be recorded for history, it is truly regrettable that the American people will never know the full extent or the details of his suggestions.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown, Jr.

OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, all rational men must share the feelings of sadness at the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy which members of my family feel today. Our hearts go out to the Kennedy family in their hour of loss—to the parents who have seen another promising son cut down in his prime; to the bereaved wife who has had taken away from her the partner of her life;

to the children now denied the love and affection of their father; and to the other relatives and many friends everywhere whose affection for the late Senator was personal as well as political.

None of us can fully appreciate the dimension of their feeling of loss, but all of us who have lost loved ones can share their feelings at this time of bereavement. Mrs. Brown and I want them to know that we care, in the hope that it will help to know that others have shared such losses and do care.

Our sentiments are expressed without regard to the way in which Senator Kennedy's death came, the horrible circumstances, the senseless viciousness, or the dramatic time of his needless death.

My sentiment is also expressed without regard to the late Senator's position in life, material resources, party affiliation, or philosophical views. It is the sentiment of one human being for another—and I think it is important that this point be made specifically. One of the first things learned by those of us who are privileged to serve in the Congress is that men of all views have common qualities of character and personality and common human experiences which bind us together as human beings with ties of mutual concern, dedication, affection, respect, and friendship. Often that friendship binds us as strongly across the center aisle of philosophical diversity to political adversaries as we are bound in partisan agreement to those in our own party.

With this lesson of common humanity we also learn by the demonstration of experience the immense value to our free Nation of untrammelled, candid, and sometimes heated debate. It is this free exchange of divergent views, well and strongly expressed, which conserves the best in our institutions and beliefs and brings about the change and progress which the Nation requires as it grows and times change.

And this lesson, once learned, leads us to the further conclusion that it is not men alone but the ideas and the ideals they express, which make a nation great. And, if one must choose between the primacy of men or the ideas they espouse, then we should choose ideas, because ideas are more immortal than men. All of us will finally be struck down by the hand of God. But any man who would attempt to play God by raising his hand to strike down another man, whether

in an attempt to destroy the man or his ideas, should be reminded that it is always God who has the retribution—and often by increasing emotionally among contemporaries the stature of the victim or the victim's views. And it is also true that the act of violence discredits the violent one and reduces rational consideration of his views.

It has been consistently thus on the rare occasions in our Nation's history when assassination was resorted to in a misguided effort to influence public policy. And such violence has been rare in our national history, in spite of all the gloomy statements to the contrary with which we have been saturated in recent days.

I reject the unfounded thesis that all people in our Nation are equally guilty of the violence which took the life of Senator Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, or President Kennedy. Such an indictment is no more correct than to suggest that our whole society is guilty of each neighborhood bank robbery, every rape, or other crime of passion.

At the same time I recognize the swift decline of our Nation's morals which has resulted only naturally in a sharp rise in crime and violence. I also recognize that many citizens—yes, most citizens—have resisted this moral decay. The vast majority of Americans prefer order to violence. The vast majority of Americans prefer to observe the law than to break it. The vast majority of Americans prefer to earn their own way by honest toil, than to be kept in welfare. The vast majority of students prefer to study and learn than to demonstrate. The vast majority of all minority group members prefer to exercise lawful means to redress grievances than to riot and loot. The vast majority of young men prefer to serve their Nation's cause than to set themselves above national policies.

To believe otherwise is to abandon our system of representative government and turn either to anarchy or oppression. It is order and freedom which is at stake and not one or the other.

The tendency to indict our system or our society is dangerous because it condemns the innocent along with the guilty indiscriminately. It shows no judgment while condemning lack of judgment.

And perhaps it is such a lack of judgment, such lack of discrimination which has brought us to this tragic state of moral decay and violence which we all abhor. Perhaps it is our inability—

or more accurately, our unwillingness—to make moral judgments that has been our undoing.

In our proper moral desire to protect the innocent individual, we also protect the guilty at the expense of society. Free speech has become the right to incite. The pornographic is now defended in the name of art. And shirking of patriotic duty is responding to a higher moral law.

Some have identified these trends with affluence. Some blame permissiveness in child-rearing and others see the advancing and changing means of communications as the cause. In fact, everything has been blamed from war to religion. But for each of us who locates the cause, the blame is invariably put on something beyond our personal control—whether it is general or specific. The most vague, general and hopeless target is some unspecified psychological sickness within our society. It inspires no individual insight in us. It is an indictment of everyone else. No monolithic international enemy of our Nation could ask for a more divisive and enervating idea to shatter our national morale.

Conversely, were we simply to assess all our ills of national violence to some foreign subversion, we would be oversimplifying a complex problem and abdicating the individual responsibility each of us has to think and act rationally and responsibly. But we should not overlook the dangers of foreign subversion any more than we should overemphasize them.

We have all grown too cynical and callous to such possibilities, just as we have grown insensitive to the degradation of the morale and ethical virtues and motivations which built this Nation. Love of freedom, respect for others, patriotism, integrity, hard work, and self-sacrificing duty have been replaced by license, noninvolvement, security, getting by, love of ease, and lack of responsibility.

Little transgressions which once shocked us now no longer impress because they have become so common. It now requires a trespass of massive proportions to make us look within ourselves and assess the decline of our individual or collective standards.

Each of us has the obligation to reverse this trend. Our leaders must replace demagoguery with responsibility, love of power with love of country and divisive dismay with national failures with practical and workable solutions to

definable problems. As a people we must have participation and patience, fortitude and faith, honor and endeavor and rational intelligence to answer the challenges of our day. Above all, we need character and order. Without it we cannot make things better for our children and we will live in a world that will grow worse than it is even on this sad day.

Hon. John W. McCormack
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, my personal grief and the grief of our country in the tragedy that has struck our Nation, the Congress and the Kennedy family, knows no bounds. My fervent hope is that Americans everywhere will assuage their sense of loss in the death of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy by acting responsibly, by being true to their heritage as citizens of a free country where repression has never been an ordinary part of the daily scene.

Senator Kennedy's career was that of an outstanding American passionately dedicated to the services of our country. He served the United States of America many times, and in many ways. He served in its Navy during World War II. He served his country as a staff member to one of its Senate's committees, as its Attorney General, and as the junior Senator of one of its largest States.

During all of his service he demonstrated genuine courage, great ability, profound insight into men and issues, and the mysterious attributes of human character that we can properly characterize under the words "a born leader."

As we prayed for the life of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy while he was still among us, let us now pray for the life of our Nation. The example set for us by this man, now lost to us, who had himself endured so much personal tragedy, should give us some of the determination and dedication needed in the struggle to build the America of our dreams.

Senator Kennedy sacrificed his life while contributing his intelligence, his hopes, his beliefs, and his leadership to the American cause. Let us now make our contribution to that same cause.

Of all of our public men of these recent troubled times, Senator Kennedy perhaps best

knew that death could come at any time. His revered older brother, Joseph, was killed during World War II while flying a volunteer mission. The brother to whom Senator Robert Kennedy was closest, for whom he had campaigned and in whose administration he had served, the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was senselessly and cruelly murdered by an assassin.

Despite his deep grief at these personal tragedies and despite the feelings that must have filled his heart, Senator Robert Kennedy never turned his back on his country and its call to service.

He lived by very high standards of excellence and was never satisfied that he was meeting their exacting requirements successfully. He drove himself hard—and he played hard—and he played to win. Like his brother, he believed that this country could be better and that it could be made better.

Mrs. McCormack and I have long known and admired the Kennedy family, of which he was such a distinguished member. We express our profound sympathy to Senator Robert Kennedy's grief-stricken parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, Senator Kennedy's sisters and his brother, and to his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, to whom he was a source of strength in her days and years of anguish.

We can share, but we can never hope to ease the tragic bereavement of Senator Robert Kennedy's beloved widow, Ethel Kennedy. Her limitless love for her husband and her children was the source of some of her husband's great strength of character and an inspiration to Senator Kennedy.

I know that all my colleagues and all Americans join with me in saying a prayer to the good Lord to have mercy on the soul of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Samuel N. Friedel
OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, I should like to have an opportunity to extend my remarks and include in the RECORD a memorial which was written by a member of my congressional staff in memory of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. It is a wonderful tribute to the late Senator, and I want every Member to have an opportunity to read it.

The memorial follows:

IN MEMORIAM: ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, 1925-68

(By Reba M. Shoaf)

What is this so-called Festival of Life? Plato long ago said there is nothing in life worth a struggle.

Life is full of pain, and the pangs of the flesh gnaw at the mind and rout its calm. In countless ways fate intercepts and thwarts our hopes. Contentment is not to be relied on, and even wisdom cannot preserve us from the treachery and insecurity of the perceptions.

Today our lives are filled with stanza after stanza of enervating sadness; our souls are sorrow laden, and we seemed to have supped sorrow with a long spoon. Our Nation reflects the soul of tragedy in the celebrated loneliness of man. Even the echo cries out in the same note of accentuated despair. It is not too difficult for us to feel that life holds more pain than pleasure. "We wander through life, restless and tormented—at each successive station, we think that happiness dwells at the next, but when we reach it, happiness is no longer there. Discontent stands in haunting constancy before us, and there are those who are cheated from birth to the overcharge on their coffins."

Life is not an affliction to those who are, and who can remain young; there are some who without any waters of youth, remain so until age has sapped the foundation of their being; and it is from such as they that the greatest cheer is obtained. But to those who live, so to speak, in the thick of the fight, who see hope after hope fall with a crash, and illusion after illusion vanish into still air, to the intelligent, to the observer, and especially to him who is forced against his will to struggle in the van, life is an affliction.

There is no standard of personal dignity except independence. It is precisely in solitude where each of us is dependent upon his own resources where we are brought face to face with our individuality. No work is ever done collectively, by a majority decision. Every creative job is achieved under the guidance of a single individual thought. An architect requires a great number of people to erect his building, but he never asks him to vote on his design.

The mind is a muscle and it's just as much fun to exercise it, and you get just the same glow, as you do when you exercise the body. The reasoning mind cannot work under any form of compulsion. It cannot be curbed, sacrificed or subordinated to any consideration whatsoever. It demands total independence in function and motive.

We live in an intellectual world. One of the characteristics of the human mind is its unwillingness to rest content when we have seen, felt, heard and tasted. Determination to understand is a fundamental of our intellectual constitution and is responsible for some of our most glorious achievements.

Teachers are usually the ones who conserve the values of the past and pass them on to future generations. They are the conservatives. Prophets are the ones who demand that those values be applied to wider and wider situations in the present and future. They are the radicals. Each has a function in human society. Between the tension of the two all progress is made. If we were all conservative, we would dry up. If we were all radicals, we would "bust" up. But between the pull back of the

conservative and the pull ahead of the radical, we make progress in a middle direction.

We are living in the midst of a vast revolution of change, and we must be willing to adapt ourselves to constant change. There is a crying need for reformation throughout the country—at the moment, we have nothing more than the politics of hysteria.

The moral courage of Robert Francis Kennedy has not been excelled since the days of Voltaire. Bobby Kennedy did not succumb to the herd instinct. He removed himself from the domination of the herd and he outstepped all his companions which indicated that he was listening to a different drummer. He represented to the new generation what Voltaire did to the 18th century—its reason and its liberty. Bobby Kennedy was the fountainhead of the 20th century.

He possessed that rare combination of the vim and vigor of a fresh approach and the wit and wisdom far beyond his years. He uttered words of wisdom that seemed always to be peering down and sounding bottom in unfathomed depths of the human heart. He spoke with brilliant reasoning, such blistering invective, and showered a continent with impassioned protests as he poured the acid of his scorn upon a system capable of such cruelty and savagery. He employed every weapon in the arsenal of the mind: logic, invective, irony, paradox.

He spoke with an Aristotelian philosophy, and as we all know, Aristotle governs most of our modern-day thinking. His theory of ethics begins with kindness of the heart and stems from nothing more than truth and goodness.

Robert Kennedy was a mighty warrior, and with dauntless courage, he stood on the precipice of life as if he anticipated the cry of the wailing banshee.

As the soul of Robert Kennedy takes its flight from the shore of sound into the realm of silence, we ask God to help us in the orientation of our thoughts toward a wider appreciation of human affairs that we might better grasp the unalterable fact of the success of man's destiny over and above the cultural differences of the various people who inhabit this planet. We also ask God to help us discern the peculiar dangers and delusions with which our age is replete and the strength to meet them in Him whose example and teachings we are endeavoring to follow. We pray to God that we shall never lose sight of our courage as we stand fast by our own convictions for we know that nothing lies beyond the reach of prayer except that which lies outside the will of God. We pray that we shall always remember that our religion is the inborn longing of the human soul for God.

Hon. Jack Brooks

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, last night President Johnson spoke for all America when he expressed his sadness, his shock, and his indignation over the brutal killing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

The country mourns another fallen leader—and there is nothing we can say to ease the pain or to explain it away.

This madness, this senseless slaughter must be stopped.

To that end, the President appointed a bipartisan Commission, made up of distinguished citizens of many walks of life, to study this most urgent problem and to submit recommendations on how to head off future tragedies. The Commission will be headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the highly respected former president of Johns Hopkins University.

We hope and pray that the work of the Commission will be a success.

But the President, unlike some others who have spoken out in the past 36 hours, refused to indict the Nation as a whole for this terrible deed. He said:

It would be wrong and self-deceptive to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.

Two hundred million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

I agree. While we mourn our fallen colleague, while we are determined to bring his assassin to justice, while we know that there is much to be done to avoid a repetition of such tragedies, we just must not condemn the entire Nation. Because I believe his words are so relevant—for today and for tomorrow as well—I insert the President's moving statement of last night on the shooting of Senator Kennedy:

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE SHOOTING OF
SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JUNE 5, 1968

My fellow citizens, I speak to you this evening not only as your President, but as a fellow American who is shocked and dismayed, as you are, by the attempt on Senator Kennedy's life, deeply disturbed, as I know you are, by lawlessness and violence in our country, of which this tragedy is the latest spectacular example.

We do not know the reasons that inspired the attack on Senator Kennedy. We know only that a brilliant career of public service has been brutally interrupted; that young leader of uncommon energy and dedication, who has served his country tirelessly and well, and whose voice and example have touched millions throughout the entire world has been senselessly and horribly stricken.

At this moment, the outcome is still in the balance. We pray to God that He will spare Robert Kennedy and will restore him to full health and vigor. We pray this for the Nation's sake, for the sake of his wife and his children, his father and his mother, and in memory of his brother, our beloved late President.

The Kennedy family has endured sorrow enough, and we pray that this family may be spared more anguish.

Tonight this Nation faces once again the consequences of lawlessness, hatred, and unreason in its midst. It would be wrong, it would be self-deceptive, to ignore the connection between that lawlessness and hatred and this act of violence. It would be just as wrong, and just as self-deceptive, to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.

Two hundred million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

But those awful events give us ample warning that in a climate of extremism, of disrespect for law, of contempt for the rights of others, violence may bring down the very best among us. A nation that tolerates violence in any form cannot expect to be able to confine it to just minor outbursts.

My fellow citizens, we cannot, we just must not, tolerate the sway of violent men among us. We must not permit men who are filled with hatred, and careless of innocent lives, to dominate our streets and fill our homes with fear.

We cannot sanction the appeal to violence, no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievance from which it springs.

There is never—and I say never—any justification for the violence that tears at the fabric of our national life; that inspires such fear in peaceful citizens that they arm themselves with deadly weapons; that sets citizen against citizen or group against group.

A great nation can guarantee freedom for its people and the hope of progressive change only under the rule of law. So let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law.

Let us put an end to violence and to the preaching of violence.

Let the Congress pass laws to bring the insane traffic in guns to a halt, as I have appealed to them time and time again to do. That will not, in itself, end the violence, but reason and experience tell us that it will slow it down; that it will spare many innocent lives.

Let us purge the hostility from our hearts and let us practice moderation with our tongues.

Let us begin in the aftermath of this great tragedy to find a way to reverence life, to protect it, to extend its promise to all of our people.

This Nation and its people have suffered grievously from violence and assassination. For this reason, I am appointing with the recommendation of the leadership of the Congress—with whom I have talked this evening—a Commission of most distinguished Americans to immediately examine this tragic phenomenon. They are:

Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the former distinguished president of Johns Hopkins University.

Archbishop Terrence Cook, of New York.

Albert E. Jenner, Jr., of Illinois.

Ambassador Patricia Harris.

Mr. Eric Hoffer.

Senator Philip A. Hart.
 Senator Roman Hruska.
 Congressman Hale Boggs.
 Congressman William McCulloch.
 Judge Leon Higginbotham.

The Commission will look into the causes, the occurrence, and the control of physical violence across this Nation, from assassination that is motivated by prejudice and by ideology, and by politics and by insanity, to violence in our cities' streets and even in our homes.

What in the nature of our people and the environment of our society makes possible such murder and such violence?

How does it happen? What can be done to prevent assassination? What can be done to further protect public figures? What can be done to eliminate the basic causes of these aberrations,

Supported by the suggestions and recommendations of criminologists, sociologists, and psychologists, all of our Nation's medical and social sciences, we hope to learn why we inflict such suffering on ourselves. I hope and pray that we can learn how to stop it.

This is a sober time for our great democracy, but we are a strong and we are a resilient people who can, I hope, learn from our misfortunes, who can heal our wounds, who can build and find progress in public order.

We can. We must.

So I appeal to every American citizen tonight: Let us begin tonight.

Hon. William L. St. Onge OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day for America. Once again our Nation has been shocked by the horrible murder of one of its young and able leaders by an act of insane violence. This is not only a senseless and outrageous crime perpetrated by a fanatic, whose bullet was laden with hatred, but one that will only serve to aggravate our problems rather than solve anything.

This crime is totally repulsive to all decent Americans. Our way of life is not violence. American society has always lived and thrived on morality, justice, freedom, tolerance, understanding, and law and order. Alien ideologies and principles based on anarchy, violence, and chaos have no place in America. They only serve to divide our people and to weaken us at a time when we should stand united and strong in the face of attacks from abroad.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy gave his life for his people and his country. Like his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, he, too, died

in the service of his Nation whose honor, prestige, and way of life he tried to uphold. He was a statesman and patriot of the first order, he had abiding faith in America, and as such he represented the very fiber of the heart and soul of our Nation.

Now we are bereft of a very capable leader who, had he been privileged to live, would surely have continued to render great service to the people of the United States. Unfortunately, he was not destined to do so. In this most tragic hour for the Nation as a whole, our hearts go out to his family whose loss is so overwhelming. We can only weep with them in silence, but completely shaken to the very depths of our souls. His sudden and tragic death is a tremendous loss for all of us.

Hon. Dante B. Fascell OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, as a friend of the Kennedys, both Senator Robert Kennedy of New York and his brother, our late President John Kennedy, I feel a particular loss at the violent death of Senator Kennedy. I share in the grief of his wife, children, and family, and express to them my deepest sympathy.

This act of violence which cut down one of America's leading statesmen in the middle of an outstanding career is but the most recent example of the hatred and violence which exists in the world and in this country. Lawlessness, violence, disorder increasingly seem to be the rule, rather than the exception. At all levels, both personal and governmental, we must rededicate ourselves to the elimination of the environmental causes and the personal causes which give rise to these horrible acts of violence.

I have no illusions that laws will totally eradicate lawlessness, disorder, and violence, but they can go a long way toward minimizing them. Our people cannot live in fear and disorder. Legislation must be enacted to minimize the opportunity for insane people, incompetents, and others in that category to easily obtain any and all kinds of guns. Something must be done about reconciling the constitutional right to bear arms and the more basic right of each citizen to be safe on the streets and in his home. Action is needed, both in terms of legislation at the Fed-

eral level and by efforts at the State and local level, but, above all, by individuals themselves.

In the final analysis, however, while we may deal with the environmental problems which give rise to grievances and frustrations through legislation and we may pass laws which would attempt to eliminate poverty, provide better housing, provide for the sick and the elderly, and to correct the social injustices which do exist in our society; in the final analysis, we are talking about what is in the heart and in the mind and in the spirit of individuals. Hatred, bitterness, and violence will never be legislated out of existence. Each American must look into his own heart to recognize and to attempt to deal with the hatred, bitter disagreement, and frustrations which give rise to irrational acts.

In addition, we do need a national assessment of the underlying causes of human behavior which have created not only the most affluent Nation, the most educated Nation in the world but also one of the most violent. We are able to go to the moon, to transplant hearts, and yet we know little about human behavior and the ability of men to live together as brothers. We will never make a satisfactory effort in this regard until we have brought to bear on this subject the very best individual, scientific, and spiritual effort in our country. Accordingly, I strongly support the efforts of President Johnson in the naming of a Presidential commission to deal with this. I will have further legislative recommendations along this line very shortly.

Hon. Edward P. Boland

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the stirring eulogy Senator Edward M. Kennedy has given for his brother makes clear the qualities that have enabled the Kennedys to bear their public successes and private tragedies with equal grace. Among these family hallmarks are a profound love for one another, an equally profound loyalty, a sense of purpose in life, and a conviction that one must do his best in any task no matter how unfavorable the odds.

Senator Kennedy's tribute to his slain brother is more than a statement of one man's love for another, more than a statement of solace for a grieving nation. It is an affirmation that the goals

sought by Robert Francis Kennedy, and by John Fitzgerald Kennedy before him, have not died with these two remarkable men.

The text of Senator Kennedy's eulogy:

Your Eminence, Your Eminences, Mr. President, on behalf of Mrs. Robert Kennedy, her children and the parents and sisters of Robert Kennedy, I want to express what we feel to those who mourn with us today in this Cathedral and around the world.

We loved him as a brother and father and as a son. From his parents, and from his older brothers and sisters—Joe and Kathleen, Jack—he received inspiration which he passed on to all of us. He gave us strength in time of trouble, wisdom in time of uncertainty, and sharing in time of happiness. He will always be by our side.

Love is not an easy feeling to put into words. Nor is loyalty or trust or joy. But he was all of these. He loved life completely and he lived it intensely.

WORDS ON FATHER RECALLED

A few years back, Robert Kennedy wrote some words about his own father which express the way we in his family feel about him. He said of what his father meant to him:

"What it really all adds up to is love—not love as it is described with such facility in popular magazines, but the kind of love that is affection and respect, order, encouragement, and support. Our awareness of this was an incalculable source of strength, because real love is something unselfish and involves sacrifice and giving we could not help but profit from it."

And he continued:

"Beneath it all, he has tried to engender a social conscience. There were wrongs which needed attention. There were people who were poor and who needed help. And we have a responsibility to them and to this country. Through no virtues and accomplishments of our own, we have been fortunate enough to be born in the United States under the most comfortable conditions. We, therefore, have a responsibility to others who are less well off."

Hon. John R. Rarick

OF LOUISIANA

Mr. Speaker, there have been many statements expressing the sympathy of the American people regarding the tragic events of the past week, as well as prayerful exclamation that we reevaluate our individual commitments to rid our environment of the forces which induce violence.

Probably no one has expressed the public feeling better than the beloved and highly respected bishop of Baton Rouge—Bishop Robert E. Tracy.

I am honored to insert Bishop Tracy's statement on the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy at this point in the Record:

STATEMENT OF BISHOP ROBERT E. TRACY, OF BATON ROUGE, ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

In this tragic hour, there comes to us a rush of thoughts—of horror, of inestimable loss, of sympathy for the bereaved, and of unspeakable national grief over the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

And there are apprehensions too: about the sorrow that the Kennedy family must now face once more, in its long history of affliction; and about the impact on the Nation of the recent slayings of so many highminded leaders, cut down in their young manhood, just when they were giving to their country their greatest promise of sterling, vigorous service.

But there is consolation also: for even though we humans must all walk a daily tightrope between security and tragedy, our lives are still in the hands of God who, in the end, is able to bring good out of the most unfortunate accidents and the most devastating tragedies.

Hence, in this hour of bewilderment and grief, we turn to God in prayer, for we know that, without Him, not a sparrow falls from the skies nor a single lily adorns the fields.

Let us retire, now, into our hearts and pray. And then let us arise, as a nation, to carry on the work of justice and love and compassion which cries out so agonizingly for our attention.

May God be good to the gallant young leader who was Robert F. Kennedy.

And may we remember him in our common observances and in our private prayers.

But, above all, let us strive to understand and correct the injustices, the discrimination and the corroding immorality among us which induce this awful climate of violence and against which Robert Kennedy and John Kennedy, during their lives, so mightily contended.

APPEAL TO JUSTICE, COMPASSION

That is what Robert Kennedy was given. What he leaves to us is what he said, what he did and what he stood for. A speech he made to the young people of South Africa on their Day of Affirmation in 1966 sums it up the best, and I would read it now:

"There is discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of a common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little

harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

OBSOLETE DOGMA AND CHANGE

"The answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to the obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that come with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation, at home and around the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

MORAL COURAGE CALLED RARE

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves, on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"Our future may lie beyond our vision, but is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

A GOOD AND DECENT MAN

That is the way he lived. And that is what he leaves us. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are and say why.
I dream things that never were and say why not."

Hon. Charles H. Wilson OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy is so heinous and tragic that words are, at best, inadequate and superfluous. To say that Senator Kennedy's dynamic presence in public life will be sorely missed is to vastly understate the emptiness and desolation we all feel in this heavy hour. To the gallant widow, Ethel Kennedy, and her fine family as well as to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, Sr., and all the Kennedy family, Mrs. Wilson, my four sons, and I offer our deepest condolence and prayers.

Robert F. Kennedy was often described as a man of extraordinary compassion. It was this quality more than any other that formed his thinking and gave him his stature. It was this sincerity of concern for all men which directed his life and which, judging by the grieving processions along the route of his funeral train and throughout the Nation, revived the hope of many Americans, particularly the disadvantaged. These Americans believed, and so must we all, the words which Senator Kennedy used as the title of his summary of programs—from Alfred Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses":

"Tis not too late to seek a newer world . . . To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

This "newer world" must be one in which democracy is practiced in its ideal form—that of acceptance of a diversity of opinions. Acceptance is the key word; its antonyms are violence, inflammatory statements, and hate in all its insidious guises. Our Government must be one of laws, not of men, for contempt for the law only plunges our Nation into moral anarchy; it is but a short step from this to a complete breakdown of our society and our cherished form of government.

While acknowledging the rightness and urgency of President Johnson's call for an end to divisiveness and the violence which it breeds, we must also recognize that it will require major surgery to heal this rift in the American spirit.

There is no place for self-righteousness today; for, whether or not one subscribes to theories of collective national guilt, one cannot help but feel shame in these days when pestilence, prejudice, and passivity often seem the rule rather than the exception. But words pale beside the apocalyptic—and true—story of the young child who, when hearing that her grandmother had died, asked, "Who shot her?"

I do not believe that every American has blood on his hands, that every American pulled the trigger in Los Angeles last week. It would be impossible to live and serve my country were I to believe this. Yet, although I would not assert that we as a nation are terminally ill, I do know that we are sick at heart. The past few months, and years, have cast a giant shadow over the land; for, as Shakespeare said in "Hamlet":

When sorrows come, they come not single spies.
But in battalions.

Our battalion of sorrows includes some noble names: President John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and now Robert F. Kennedy. All men who tried, through dedication to reason and social action, to right wrongs in this Nation. We have small comfort now that our best men are being taken from us. But perhaps we can take heart in remembering the late Senator Kennedy's recent speech to Cleveland's City Club, when he said:

No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet.

He knew, and so must we, that ideas are not so mortal as the men who hold them.

Hon. Fernand J. St Germain OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to assist at a concelebrated Mass held at Our Lady of Providence Seminary in Warwick, R.I., on Thursday, June 6, at which time a very eloquent eulogy of Senator Robert F. Kennedy was delivered by Rev. John F. Farley.

In his poignant remarks, Father Farley, a member of the faculty at the seminary, quoted the late Senator when he commented upon the assassination of his good friend Dr. Martin Luther King. Senator Robert Kennedy said at that time:

You can be filled with bitterness, with hatred, with a desire for revenge * * *. We can move in that direction * * *. Or we can make an effort to understand as Dr. King did—to replace violence—the violence that has spread across our land—with compassion and love.

Robert F. Kennedy certainly had sufficient reason to be bitter but he chose to replace violence with the compassion and love that prevailed throughout his distinguished life.

We can replace violence with compassion and love. Let us, for his sake, choose to do so. Let us in the wise words of Father Farley begin “a people’s march against violence and anarchy.” To do otherwise would be to disregard the message of love, understanding, and concern for others given to us so eloquently in the form of the life of Robert F. Kennedy.

Let us keep in mind some other words of Robert F. Kennedy:

This motive must guide us: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I include Father Farley’s eulogy, which appeared in the June 7 edition of the Providence Visitor, in the Record, as follows:

SEMINARY TRIBUTE PAID SENATOR KENNEDY

(NOTE.—The following eulogy was delivered Thursday morning by Rev. John F. Farley, a member of the faculty at Our Lady of Providence Seminary, at a concelebrated Mass held there prior to the seminary graduation exercises.)

Sometime during those eerie hours when our grief-shot nation was waking Dr. Martin Luther King, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy spoke these words:

“A man who dedicated his life to love and to justice lies dead. You may ask: Where is our country going? What are we to do now? * * * There are two ways of answering, I think. * * * You can be filled with bit-

terness, with hatred, with a desire of revenge. * * * We can move in that direction. * * * Or we can make an effort to understand as Dr. King did—to replace violence—the violence that has spread across our land—with compassion and love.”

Now, just a few months later, the Senator, himself a man dedicated to like causes, lies dead. Men whose livelihood turns on their tooling of words—the newsman, commentators, and politicians—have filled the airwaves and the papers with the expected shock and condolences and the unanswerable questions. Nothing they’ve offered seems nearly so appropriate as Senator Kennedy’s own reflection. It is one of those rare pieces of advice, because it was not only offered to others but lived by the man himself.

Robert Kennedy was assuredly a man of compassion. He had that deep sympathy, that feeling for others which his martyred brother had; that Christ-like “compassion for the multitude” (Mk. 8:2) which may well be his family’s greatest treasure. He made manifest his “effort to understand.” A very, very rich man, he became acutely sensitive to the sufferings of the poor. I can still see him, coat slung over his shoulder, trudging behind the mule cart along Atlanta’s sun-stung streets in the unscheduled Poor Man’s march, a bobbing beacon of white on a sea of black bereavement. And neither he nor the poor he mourned with felt anything out of place with his being right there! Many of his age are disheartened by the Generation Gap that separates them from the nation’s youth, even from their own children. In his “effort to understand,” he was moving to bridge that gap, as only a man of compassion can. With his deep sense of mission, he often became impatient with the slow pace of legislative response to people’s needs. But even there, he could understand; he insisted in the May 1967 interview by Roger Mudd that his fellow Senators were the finest group of men anywhere in public life. He despised brutality and violence. He had a keen awareness of the dangers he faced, even a premonition of what did happen to him. But there was no fear that could keep him from seeking out his brothers whose “joys and hopes,” whose “griefs and anxieties” he must share.

He loved his brothers. “He lived in them; he felt with them and for them (the phrase is Newman’s); he was anxious about them; he gave them help; and in turn he looked for comfort from them.”

It is no gesture toward canonization, but simply to offer one human being’s notice of another, when I say that his compassionate effort bears the mark of beatitude. Men who had never heard the words from Matthew 5 could grant that he was “poor in spirit,” “meek and merciful,” a “promoter of peace,” one who did “hunger and thirst for justice,” who “suffered persecution in the cause of right.”

Back in 1963, Bobby Kennedy borrowed from Romeo and Juliet some lines to speak of his brother’s tragic end. I trust he would allow their re-use this heartaching day in 1968:

“Take him and cut him out in little stars; and he will make the face of heaven so fine, that all the world will be in love with night; and pay no worship to the garish sun.” (R. & J. III, 2)

As planned, yesterday evening by our Bishop, this Mass was to be offered for Senator Kennedy's recovery and for the health of our Nation. The changed circumstances have not altered the urgency of that second intention. I must resist, I suppose, the temptation to dwell on group or mass guilt; yet I cannot escape the chilling and terrible fact that men who refused to live by the sword are cut down by it, that we who have prided ourselves for being the promised land, the new Jerusalem for other lands' peoples, must in some measure hear the reproach delivered to the old Jerusalem, "You kill the prophets and stone those who are sent to you."

We need something more, I'm afraid, than gun laws and commissions, however necessary these may be. We need a deep national reassessment of the place of law and duties and rights. We need a new people's march—a people's moral march against violence and anarchy.

One man's life and death *should* influence us (cf. epistle of today's mass). But thus far—I wonder! "Let us," as our President pleaded last night, "for God's sake resolve to live under law."

We gather here at this altar, a people who believe in eternal life in God's power to raise man from every dying. We pray in this season of Pentecost to the "Father of the poor" to "heal our wounds * * * to wash the stains of guilt away." (Seq.) May I lay that belief and that prayer on Senator Kennedy's grave as our fragile piece of rosemary, the bittersweet symbol of an undying love and a death-superior compassion.

I wish I could give some comfort to those who loved him most, to his "star-crossed" family. Instead, I must again take something from them—from Jackie's prayer card, the prayer that is in all our hearts:

"Dear God, please take care of your servant, Robert Francis Kennedy; and please, please! take care of this country he loved and served so well."

Hon. John W. McCormack

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 9, 1968, a requiem memorial mass was celebrated in the cathedral in Boston, Mass., for the late U.S. Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, at which memorial mass, His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston, presided and delivered a touching eulogy. In my remarks I include the text of the eulogy delivered by Cardinal Cushing:

CARDINAL EULOGIZES SENATOR KENNEDY AS HERO TO
NATION'S POOR

Only a few years ago, in circumstances like these today, it was my sad duty to try to put into words the universal grief that we felt on the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Today, a melancholy fate summons me once again to test the power of language to express the deepest emotions of the human heart as we commemorate the tragic murder of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

Brothers closely joined in life, now are entwined also in death, both felled by the hand of the assassin. History, which cannot fail to record the glory of their deeds, will take note too of the sad correspondence of their passing.

Like most brothers, they had much in common—a common heritage of faith and courage, a will steeled for accomplishment, and a compelling impulse for public service. They brought to public life, both of them, a new dignity and a new urgency; each added new dimensions to his office, so that, before this Nation and the world, they gave promise of a fuller life and better times for all men everywhere.

As their vitality caught the imagination of so many peoples, so too their spirit stirred the forgotten hopes of the poor, the lonely, the oppressed, and the deprived. So much of what was greatness, now lies buried beside a hill in Arlington, beneath a flickering flame.

Four and a half years ago Senator Kennedy committed himself to continue what his brother had so nobly begun; from that moment his boundless energy sought to insure that those ideals they had pursued together should not perish from the earth. Today, as we take time to reflect on his life and character, we can take some measure of what, in that short time, he has meant to America.

If he could speak to us today, Senator Kennedy would, I think, take his greatest consolation in the knowledge that among heavy hearts, those with a special burden of sadness are the poor. For all of us—but for them especially—he was a hero. No one in our time has related so well to their needs, no one has been so understanding of their aspirations, no one has been so honored among them.

In good times and bad, he could walk among the citizens of our slums, he could penetrate the urban ghetto, and in the surest sense be a man among his people. In him, as in so few, they saw hopes; in him they recognized concern; in him they would not be forgotten. Who can say that it was in his character that gave such confidence to the dispossessed, that made them see in him their brother!

For my part, I think it was both the strength of his convictions and the open sincerity of his heart. He was not one to trifle with the truth when hard things had to be said, he could say them; when difficult deeds were demanded, he could do them. He had, in his own life, known something of the wounds this world can inflict on the innocent; he knew, too, how ineffective in the harshness or reality is the balm of soft words. Now that the poor have lost their champion, all of us are impoverished.

We must raise our eyes beyond the boundaries of this Nation to the far lands of the earth if we wish to understand the universal mourning of this week.

Not just to Americans, but to millions across the globe, a torch that flamed in the night has been extinguished. By some mysterious identification, those who had never even hoped to meet him saw in Senator Kennedy, bearing the mantle of his martyred brother, some message of hope for all mankind.

To a generation that was weary, he symbolized strength; to those confused, he pointed a way; for those drifting, he set a course; to those heavy with years, he offered his youth; to those despairing, he was a figure of

promise. Who can say how many little lamps around the world went out when death won its struggle last week in Los Angeles! The world is mourning a loss that is as wide as the planet itself.

Men in public life, in our country and elsewhere, are men who live on the edge of danger. No one could have been more conscious of this from his own experience than Senator Kennedy. But danger to him was not an anxiety, it was not a worry; it was, as he often said, "part of a man's life." He was fond of quoting the ancient Greek poet who said: "Men are not made for safe havens."

Valor, we know, is an essential part of greatness; only the brave can prevail. Although he was never reckless of life, he seemed to welcome risk, to be willing to challenge and to conquer it. He knew that the same protection that could guard his life could also be a barrier between himself and his people. He chose not to accept its demands. It was, I think, an act of faith on his part to put himself under the protection of providence, to do his own best, and to leave the rest to God.

Not many people will mention it, I suppose, but Senator Kennedy was a devoutly religious man, and the values for which he labored were essentially spiritual ones.

I do not mean that his religion was not related to his life and actions; I mean the opposite—his religion was the inspiration of all that he was and all that he did.

The beads that entwined his dying hand said something of his life; he was a man of prayer. Now that faith has brought him into the Lord's kingdom, he is at rest; he has found the only "safe haven" he has ever sought, and he has won it dearly.

Our hearts and prayers go out to his wife and family, especially to those who are now children of a fallen hero.

We remember too, his stalwart mother and brave father, his brother Ted and his sisters.

We share their sorrow, though we cannot assuage their grief. To the loss already sustained, now a new one is added; only faith assures them that they will meet again in another and better world. We pray for his repose and for their consolation.

Hon. Robert McClory

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I join today in expressing grief and shock at the tragic passing of my colleague from New York, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. No person in public life could help but express admiration for this dynamic, colorful, and dramatic personality.

It is almost ironic that Senator Kennedy fought against violence and lawlessness both as Attorney General of the United States and as a U.S. Senator. In these capacities he demonstrated the kind of courage which must become part of the fabric of all Americans in order to temper the climate of tension and disorder so prevalent in our land today.

Mr. Speaker, I am particularly saddened at the passing of Senator Kennedy because of the excess of tragedy which has befallen the Kennedy family. I am fully aware that this great American family is held together by ties of love and devotion as well as spiritual fidelity. These indestructible qualities characterize and unite all of the Kennedy children with their distinguished parents. This great family group are an American institution which has attracted the interest, respect, and affection of millions of Americans as well as countless friends beyond our national borders.

Mr. Speaker, I have had a special acquaintanceship with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Edward Kennedy. My late wife, Audrey, became acquainted with Senator Edward Kennedy's wife, Joan, in connection with work of common interest to both of them. Accordingly, our families have more than public service in common. We have enjoyed a personal contact which makes this hour more deeply felt and more personal than it otherwise would have been.

I cannot help but express particular sorrow for Senator Edward Kennedy—the lone surviving brother of this great family—the others having all met tragic and premature deaths.

Mr. Speaker, I offer these few inadequate words expressed humbly and prayerfully in sympathy to Senator Robert Kennedy's widow, Ethel, and to all of the Kennedy children, parents, brothers and sisters, and other members of the family. In addition, Mr. Speaker, I am expressing my own prayer and conviction that the life of Senator Robert Kennedy is indestructible and that the real values which constitute that life are eternal and that they are as alive and strong at this hour as they were before tragedy struck him down just a few days ago.

Hon. Eligio de la Garza

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, the tragic events of the last few hours once again bring all of us to the awful, yet so certain, realization that the shadow of death hangs near for all who walk on the face of the earth, yet for all who believe in God, His goodness and mercy, His promise of a life everlasting for all who would follow His word, death then becomes but the means by which

we shed our oh, so very fragile human body for God's celestial cloak.

And yet we mourn, as humans will, Mr. Speaker, for the human body reacts with great passion against death when it is perpetrated against the laws of God and the laws of man, for when we kill our brother, we kill ourselves.

Yes, we mourn for us, Mr. Speaker, for we are all children of God. We are humanity and when one dies, a part of us dies with him. We mourn for a family who perhaps more than any family in America has suffered because of hate, prejudice, and man's inhumanity to man. We mourn for a gallant lady who with devotion and courage stood by her husband until his last living moment. We mourn for her children who will no longer have a father.

For this we mourn, Mr. Speaker, for the family of Robert F. Kennedy, his wife, his children, his parents, his brother, and his sisters. We extend to all of them our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy on their great loss and pray that all of them have the blessings of the Almighty in their hour of sorrow.

Hon. Jacob H. Gilbert

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there are many men in this body more eloquent than I, but none, I think, can capture in words the grief of the Nation at the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. Senator Kennedy dedicated his life to his country. He was a man of profound talent and generosity. His idea of America was its people, white and black, from every walk of life. Senator Kennedy was a decent man whose service we can scarcely spare. As he dedicated his years, so he gave his life to the United States. We will never know how much Senator Kennedy might have contributed, but we know that in his passing we Americans have suffered a great loss.

Hon. George E. Shipley

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and all Americans in extending my deepest sympathy to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

One did not have to agree with all the views of Senator Kennedy to recognize that he was a great American and that he brought to public life in America an unusual quality of dedication and service. He created a great deal of excitement on the national political scene, and carried abroad to all the world an image of America as a young vital nation.

Although we will never know what contributions he may have made in the future, certainly the mark he has made on all our lives will not be forgotten. His deep compassion, concern, and commitment have inspired millions of men and women throughout the world.

Words cannot express the sorrow and loss we all feel, but let us pray to God that we will, at this tragic time, rededicate ourselves to the democratic principles for which Senator Kennedy lived and died.

Hon. John H. Dent

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, when the news of Senator Robert F. Kennedy's death reached me, it was an anticlimax to the horror which began nearly 24 hours earlier. It is said that, had he lived, he would have been only a part of what he was. I have heard many rationalize his passing by comparing it with the ugly alternative of his existence as a fraction of his once dynamic self. But I would say that his wife and children, his family and loved ones would have had him on any terms. Tragically, that was not meant to be.

Thousands of words have been written and said about Robert Kennedy, and many more will come. I have no original thoughts or feelings in these days of extreme grief. My heart is with Mrs. Robert Kennedy, who lost a devoted husband; with her children and yet unborn child who lost a loving father; with Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, who must wonder when the nightmare will end; and with the brother and sisters, nieces and nephews of Robert Kennedy, whose bereavement is shared by a nation.

Mr. Speaker, this country is big enough and strong enough and free enough to withstand almost every movement, social disorder, or malady. But it cannot continue to withstand unreasoned hate and prejudice and the violence that always

follows. This is what Robert Kennedy understood and tried to do something about. And this is what he has apparently fallen victim to. How many lives will it take to make us understand?

Let us pray we have finally had enough.

Hon. Charles A. Vanik OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most significant statement by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy on crime and violence was a speech he delivered before the City Club of Cleveland on April 5, 1968, the morning after the brutal assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Senator Kennedy was visibly shocked but he decided that something should be said. His words reflect his deep thought and concern about the critical problem of violence in America. This vitally significant statement follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY BEFORE THE
CLEVELAND CITY CLUB, APRIL 5, 1968

This is a time of shame and sorrow. It is not a day for politics. I have saved this one opportunity to speak briefly to you about this mindless menace of violence in America which again stains our land and everyone of our lives.

It is not the concern of any one race. The victims of the violence are black and white, rich and poor, young and old, famous and unknown. They are, most important of all, human beings whom other human beings loved and needed. No one—no matter where he lives or what he does—can be certain who will suffer from some senseless act of bloodshed. And yet it goes on and on.

Why? What has violence ever accomplished. What has it ever created? No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet.

No wrongs have ever been righted by riots and civil disorders. A sniper is only a coward, not a hero; and an uncontrolled, uncontrollable mob is only the voice of madness, not the voice of the people.

Whenever any American's life is taken by another American unnecessarily—whether it is done in the name of the law or in the defiance of law, by one man or a gang, in cold blood or in passion, in an attack of violence or in response to violence—whenever we tear at the fabric of life which another man has painfully and clumsily woven for himself and his children, the whole nation is degraded.

"Among free men," said Abraham Lincoln, "there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet; and those who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the costs."

Yet we seemingly tolerate a rising level of violence that ignores our common humanity and our claims to civilization alike. We calmly accept newspaper reports

of civilian slaughter in far-off lands. We glorify killing on movie and television screens and call it entertainment. We make it easy for men of all shades of sanity to acquire whatever weapons and ammunition they desire.

Too often we honor swagger and bluster and the wielders of force; too often we excuse those who are willing to build their own lives on the shattered dreams of others. Some Americans who preach nonviolence abroad fail to practice it here at home. Some who accuse others or inciting riots have by their own conduct invited them.

Some look for scapegoats, others look for conspiracies, but this much is clear: violence breeds violence, repression brings retaliation, and only a cleaning of our whole society can remove this sickness from our soul.

For there is another kind of violence, slower but just as deadly, destructive as the shot or the bomb in the night. This is the violence of institutions; indifference and inaction and slow decay. This is the violence that afflicts the poor, that poisons relations between men because their skin has different colors. This is a slow destruction of a child by hunger, and schools without books and homes without heat in the winter.

This is the breaking of a man's spirit by denying him the chance to stand as a father and as a man among other men. And this, too, afflicts us all. I have not come here to propose a set of specific remedies nor is there a single set. For a broad and adequate outline we know what must be done. When you teach a man to hate and fear his brother, when you teach that he is a lesser man because of his color or his beliefs or the policies he pursues, when you teach that those who differ from you threaten your freedom or your job or your family, then you also learn to confront others not as fellow citizens but as enemies—to be met not with cooperation but with conquest, to be subjugated and mastered.

We learn, at the last, to look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort. We learn to share only a common fear—only a common desire to retreat from each other—only a common impulse to meet disagreement with force. For all this there are no final answers.

Yet we know what we must do. It is to achieve true justice among our fellow citizens. The question is now what programs we should seek to enact. The question is whether we can find in our own midst and in our own hearts that leadership of human purpose that will recognize the terrible truths of our existence.

We must admit the vanity of our false distinctions among men and learn to find our own advancement in search for the advancement of all. We must admit in ourselves that our own children's future cannot be built on the misfortunes of another's. We must recognize that this short life can neither be ennobled or enriched by hatred or revenge.

Our lives on this planet are too short and the work to be done too great to let this spirit flourish any longer in our land. Of course we cannot vanish it with a program, nor with a resolution.

But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out

their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

Hon. Charles S. Joelson OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Paterson News of June 7, 1968. It was written by Miss Beverly Fulton. I think it proves that newspaper reporters who are often regarded as hard-boiled, can write with compassion and deep understanding when the occasion warrants.

The article follows:

LAST OF KENNEDY BROTHERS KEEPS VIGIL AT R.F.K.'s BIER

(By Beverly Fulton)

We stood in the pre-dawn heat. Everyone was quiet except for a few who were listening to a radio. More than an hour and a half before the doors of St. Patrick's Cathedral swung open, a line eight blocks long and six persons abreast, waited in the dark to pay their last respects to Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

The sun was rising as we entered the cathedral. The line moved swiftly and as I turned to the center aisle, a tall man stepped in front of me, assisted by another man.

He moved much slower than the rest of the mourners and seemed more deeply in thought. It was not until he turned to whisper something to his friend, that I recognized him as Senator Edward Kennedy, who had kept a constant vigil through the night at his brother's casket.

Senator Ted Kennedy resembled his brother, the late President Kennedy to such an extent that for a moment it seemed almost as if a ghost had appeared.

His face was ashen and drawn.

He had suffered the same sort of tragedy four years ago, but then he could rely on the strength of his brother Robert to help him bear up.

STANDS ALONE

This morning he stood alone, the sole survivor of the Kennedy boys.

Few mourners noticed him as he slipped into a pew approximately 10 feet from the bier on which the undraped mahogany casket rested. The casket was covered with fingerprints left by thousands of mourners who had already filed through during the first half hour the late senator lay in state.

Six brass candlesticks surrounded the casket at which an honor guard of four family friends knelt and stood.

Many of the older women leaned to kiss the casket. One elderly lady leading a blind Negro youth wept and had to be helped from the bier.

As we left the Cathedral and stepped into the bright morning sun of Fifth Avenue the whole episode inside seemed almost unreal to us, as it was to the thousands still lined outside waiting their turn.

Hon. Nick Galifianakis OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Speaker in the month of August 1964 Robert Francis Kennedy climbed to the podium at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J. In a faltering nostalgic voice he paid tribute to the memory of his beloved brother—President John Fitzgerald Kennedy—slain by an assassin's bullet. The words he used were Shakespeare's:

When he shall die
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of Heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Last Saturday in the month of June 1968—a scant 3½ years later—Edward M. Kennedy stood before a flag-draped coffin at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. In one of the most poignant scenes ever witnessed by man he paid tribute to the memory of his beloved brother—Senator Robert Francis Kennedy—slain by an assassin's bullet. The words he used were his own:

My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life . . . to be remembered simply as a good and decent man who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it. . . .

Those of us who remain here to perpetuate the principles of public service are enriched for having shared Robert Kennedy's moment of destiny.

We are humbled that we are asked to remember him only as a "good and decent man."

We are comforted by the tranquility with which his family beheld the spirit of death—in the certain assurance that this man had truly understood life.

And we are inspired by the challenge he left us:

Some men see things as they are and say why.
I dream things that never were and say why not.

Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues, and other readers of the Record, to a brief and moving statement made in Paris on June 6 by Ambassador W. Averell Harriman on the subject of his friend, Senator Robert F. Kennedy:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE W. AVERELL HARRIMAN,
PARIS, JUNE 6, 1968

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was one of the most gallant men I have ever known. He was fearless. He faced facts squarely. It was impossible for him not to tell the truth as he saw it. I think that is why some people thought he was ruthless. At times the truth is ruthless. He supported the causes he believed in regardless of the enemies he knew that he would make. But few men have won the deep respect and affection of so many. Negroes and other minorities knew that he had accepted their cause as his own.

If he had been elected President, he would have been a great President. He shared with President Kennedy many of his inspired decisions. He understood the problems of our time, and in some capacity he would have played a major role in forwarding the greatness of our country in which he had such deep faith. Our country has suffered an irreparable loss.

Hon. Walter S. Baring

OF NEVADA

Mr. Speaker, a great American has been laid to rest and this Nation is more the poorer. Our Nation has lost a young and dedicated public servant.

Mere words cannot express the shock and horror that affected every man, woman, and child upon learning of the fatal shooting of Senator Kennedy. No one will ever forget the depth of his feeling about the problems facing our Nation and his determination to do something about it.

There are many words of tribute that can be said—and have been said of Senator Kennedy. But to me, seven words can best voice the tribute that can be tendered to this great American:

Senator Kennedy awakened the conscience of America.

To all the Kennedy family, I wish to express my most heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy.

Hon. Edward P. Boland

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert F. Kennedy inspired and charmed the American public as few men have done before him. At no time was this striking charisma more evident than when he plunged into the teeming crowds that greeted him everywhere this spring. Grinning with boyish delight, bracing his shoulders and stooping a little, Bobby allowed himself to be swept through the eddying campaign crowds with the same alacrity he showed in the surf off Cape Cod. And the crowds responded with even keener enthusiasm. Everywhere teenage girls squealed "Bobby! Bobby!" and clutched at his clothes, news photographers shouted themselves hoarse trying to catch his attention, housewives craned on tiptoe to get a glimpse of him, men ranging from burly dockworkers to college students jostled each other in competition for a Kennedy handshake, old women looked on beaming, bemusedly, and waving their hands.

Why did the young Senator evoke such tumultuous public support? Part of the reason, of course, was that Kennedy symbolized what the magazines glibly term "glamour." Young, rich, strikingly handsome, characterized by a waggish Irish grin and a coruscating wit, Kennedy possessed all the requisite qualities to become a darling of the public. But it was more than that. The country's citizens, ranging from black farmhands in the Deep South to the scions of the Northeast's wealthiest families, recognized in Kennedy his driving quest for a better America. The political heir of his brother Jack, Bobby was wholly dedicated to the goals envisioned in New Frontier politics.

His candidacy for President was a lodestone of hope for the Nation's poor, its oppressed, its youth, its intellectuals. Bobby, of course, was not the only man who could shape the United States into the kind of virile and vigorous nation his supporters sought. But he was one of the few men in this political generation who could bring such a broad range of talents to the task: intellect, skill, knowledge, experience, and, even more significantly, a sense of concern untainted by political considerations. His enemies, of course, strove to make his concern appear to be cyni-

cism, his resolution appear to be ruthlessness, his sincerity appear to be sham. Most people, however, could see the true Bobby Kennedy merely by looking at the photographs of him that filled the country's newspapers and magazines. They could see his gentleness in the photographs of Bobby wrapping an arm around his son on a twilight Hyannisport beach, his untrammelled zest for life in photographs showing him battling the rapids in a kayak, his political concern in the photographs of his jabbing forefinger and taut face during campaign speeches.

Third son in an illustrious family, Bobby lived in the shadow of his two older brothers during his youth. In the jesting rivalry of the Kennedy household he learned that it took effort—and a lot of it—to stand out in that family milieu.

I was the seventh of nine children—

Bobby once said—

and when you come from that far down you have to struggle to survive.

That struggle—the conviction that one must do his best no matter what the odds—became one of the most celebrated hallmarks of Bobby's personality. Slight and small as a Harvard undergraduate, he nevertheless won a position on a varsity football team made up of robust 200-pounders that dwarfed him. Said team captain Kenny O'Donnell:

Bobby worked five times as hard as anyone. He'd come in from end like a wild Indian. If you were blocking Bobby, you'd knock him down, but he'd be up again, going after the play. He never let up.

Nor did he let up in his effort to strengthen the country he loved. As a young Government lawyer, as strawboss of his brother's Presidential Cabinet, as a Senator, as a candidate for President, Bobby worked as if he somehow anticipated what was waiting for him in the dingy serving pantry of a Los Angeles hotel. Perhaps his consuming dedication was his greatest contribution to American life. He taught us all that courage and perseverance can solve problems that other men think insoluble, that one man's efforts can help change the world.

Hon. Bertram L. Podell OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, John Donne, the 17th century British clergyman and poet, wrote:

Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

As the bell tolled the knell of the departed Robert Francis Kennedy, it did indeed toll for all mankind, for all humanity. That we are all diminished by his untimely passing was visible in the faces of thousands who stopped to pray at his catafalque, in the faces of the thousands of Americans who waited with inexhaustible patience for his funeral cortege to pay their last respects and affection for this valiant spirit. As the world came to a sudden and shocking end for Robert Kennedy, so did it stop momentarily in its orbit so that people throughout the world could pray for his soul and express their sympathy to the family and friends of our distinguished colleague.

Senator Robert Kennedy brought to our Nation an aura of nobility and majesty. He dedicated his efforts and his energies to end the violence in action and the violence in rhetoric, not only in the streets of our cities, but in the lives of our people. He sought for new means to put an end to poverty in a land of plenty; to harness the vast resources deployed for destruction in war to the peaceful pursuits of the world's enrichment.

To those who were lost in the surging, impersonal technology of our times, he gave new direction; to the oppressed, he was a ray of hope; to those who rejected democracy as a viable political and social order, he restored their faith in social justice; to the alienated, he brought the promise of reconciliation; to the poor, the homeless, the lonely, and rejected, he renewed their faith in the fundamental principles of the democratic way of life; to all of humanity, he brought a fierce and dedicated compassion for an end to the sources of conflict which divide and separate people and the hope of uniting them, so that all would move forward to a fuller and more creative life. All humanity suffers a tragic loss, that so eloquent a voice for social justice and equality has so suddenly been stilled.

In a moving and eloquent eulogy at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Senator Edward M. Kennedy said:

My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Senator Kennedy was all of these; and yet more. His life and his work transcended the technology of communication, and those who touched him, or were touched by him, know that they were graced by the touch of an immortal. William Hazlitt once wrote:

Death strips a man of everything but genius and virtue. It is a sort of natural canonization.

And so it is with Senator Robert F. Kennedy. There is but little we can say that can bring solace to Senator Kennedy's bereaved widow and children, to his parents, his brother and his sisters, other than that Senator Kennedy lived wisely, well, and intensely, and that his compassionate spirit embraced all of humanity.

Almost 4 years ago, at the Democratic National Convention, Senator Kennedy applied with filial reverence, to his older brother, Juliet's apostrophe to Romeo, words which apply with like poignancy to himself:

Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

Hon. William S. Moorhead
OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, less than 5 years ago, Ben Bradlee, of the Washington Post, wrote from the heart some memorable words to describe his feelings about his friend, the late President John F. Kennedy. They so aptly expressed how the Nation felt about him that they were later published in a small book called "That Special Grace."

Today, when our thoughts indeed "lie too deep for tears," we have sad occasion in the horrendous assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy to think on these words once again, as they apply to all of the Kennedys—to whom we can only offer mute sympathy and prayers.

Among all of the words uttered or written at this time of great sorrow, loss, and trial, none are more moving, more eloquent, or more fitting than

those spoken by the last brother, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, at the funeral mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral last Saturday. Second to this might be the Washington Post editorial, "The Gift of Courage," of June 9.

Robert Kennedy's life truly bore testimony that "the way to do is to be." Under unanimous consent I include both of these tributes at this point in the Record, and commend them to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, June 9, 1968]

TEXT OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY'S TRIBUTE TODAY
IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL TO HIS SLAIN BROTHER,
SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

On behalf of Mrs. Robert Kennedy, her children, and the parents and sisters of Robert Kennedy, I want to express what we feel to those who mourn with us today in this cathedral and around the world.

We loved him as a brother and father and as a son. From his parents, and from his older brothers and sisters—Joe and Kathleen, Jack—he received inspiration which he passed on to all of us. He gave us strength in time of trouble, wisdom in time of uncertainty, and sharing in time of happiness. He will always be by our side.

Love is not an easy feeling to put into words. Nor is loyalty or trust or joy. But he was all of these. He loved life completely and he lived it intensely.

WORDS OF FATHER RECALLED

A few years back, Robert Kennedy wrote some words about his own father which express the way we in his family feel about him. He said of what his father meant to him:

"What it really all adds up to is love—not love as it is described with such facility in popular magazines, but the kind of love that is affection and respect, order, encouragement, and support. Our awareness of this was an incalculable source of strength, because real love is something unselfish and involves sacrifice and giving; we could not help but profit from it."

And he continued:

"Beneath it all, he has tried to engender a social conscience. There were wrongs which needed attention. There were people who were poor and who needed help. And we have a responsibility to them and to this country. Through no virtues and accomplishments of our own, we have been fortunate enough to be born in the United States under the most comfortable conditions. We, therefore, have a responsibility to others who are less well off."

APPEAL TO JUSTICE, COMPASSION

This is what Robert Kennedy was given. What he leaves to us is what he said, what he did, and what he stood for. A speech he made to the young people of South Africa on their Day of Affirmation in 1966 sums it up the best, and I would read it now:

"There is discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their

people; millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the suffering of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of a common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again."

OBSELETE DOGMA AND CHANGE

"The answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to the obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that come with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation, at home and around the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strike out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

MORAL COURAGE CALLED RARE

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential,

vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged, and as the years pass, we will surely judge ourselves on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort."

A GOOD AND DECENT MAN

"Our future may lie beyond our vision, but is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

That is the way he lived. And that is what he leaves us. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are and say why.
I dream things that never were and say why not."

[From the Washington Post, June 9, 1968]

THE GIFT OF COURAGE

The great thing about the Kennedys is not just that they have courage but that they give it. And the sad thing, which is also the glory of it, is that they give it in greatest measure in the manner in which they meet trial and tragedy.

President John F. Kennedy, his brother Joseph before him, and Senator Robert Kennedy—they all had this grace under pressure. It was everywhere in Senator Edward Kennedy's eulogy to his brother yesterday, full of pride and sorrow, grief and promise. It was in the faces of the children, and the sisters and the mother and the first widow and the second—strained, anguished, composed. It was reflected, in some way, in the faces of the thousands of mourners who had filed past the casket for a day and two nights, touching it as they passed, paying homage, taking strength.

This strength is the special legacy to the Nation of the Kennedy who was President and the Kennedy who wanted to be. It does not matter whether they had all the right answers to all the hard questions. What matters is that they had the courage to ask the hard questions about hate and poverty and violence at home and abroad.

The lesson, laid down by Archbishop Terence C. Cooke in his eulogy yesterday, was for us "to find the courage to take up again the laborious work to which Senator Kennedy devoted all his energies." We must find this courage, the Archbishop said, in "the strength that still lies deep within the soul of America." But we will find it also in the legacy, and in the example, of the Kennedys. For it cannot be doubted that those who remain will take up the work of Robert Kennedy, for all their suffering.

That is the Kennedys' chosen way and it does them no honor to see in it, as some have done, the danger of a dynasty. There is no menace in the pursuit of excellence repeated under a common name. There is no peril in profound religious faith, in sound marriages or good teaching, or fierce family loyalty or a tradition of service by those who by birth could as easily choose a life of ease. If this is dynasty, we would do well to make the most of it, and take the best from it, and the best of it was movingly displayed at the cathedral yesterday, and at the graveside, in the strength and courage of the Kennedy family.

Hon. John Brademas OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, June 9, 1968, I had the privilege of participating in a community memorial service in South Bend, Ind., in tribute to Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

With unanimous consent, I insert the text of my address at this point in the Record:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAs, COMMUNITY MEMORIAL SERVICE, IN TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JUNE 9, 1968, SOUTH BEND, IND.

The questions that the people gathering in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City yesterday morning were asking were not much different from the questions that you and others were asking in South Bend, Ind., and across the land:

Why should one family suffer so much as the Kennedys?

What is our country coming to that there are so many assassinations of our public leaders?

Is there some dark strain of violence in the American character that explains this awful phenomenon?

I shall not here try to answer such questions if, indeed, they can be answered.

THE MEANING OF HIS LIFE AND DEATH

What I shall rather do is speak to you about Senator Robert F. Kennedy and about what his life and death should mean to us all.

You remember—as I do—when he came to South Bend only a few weeks ago with his warm-hearted, extraordinary wife * * * the day after Easter * * * and then came again last month on the eve of the Presidential primary election in Indiana.

You recall his quick grin and his wry, self-deprecating humor—and you remember, too, the intensity with which he spoke of America and the promise of our country.

We shall always remember Senator Kennedy's presence among us, but for longer still, I venture to say, we shall recall those qualities of mind and spirit that characterized his life.

One of these qualities, I think, that especially touched those who came to know him—and many who did not—was his profound compassion for the underdog.

Although born to wealth and power, Senator Kennedy spoke out again and again in our predominantly white, middle-class society for the impoverished Negro, the migrant worker, the forgotten Indian, the child of the ghetto—for anybody in a jam.

For he believed that in a country of great affluence like ours, in a country with a heritage of freedom and opportunity like ours, poverty and discrimination and hatred were, to use his word, "unacceptable".

And is there any among us to say that he was wrong?

A VOICE FOR REASON AND RECONCILIATION

Once a supporter of a limited American role in Vietnam, he became more and more opposed to the war as America's involvement increased.

And at his death, Robert Kennedy had become an eloquent voice for reason and reconciliation—at home, between blacks and whites and rich and poor, and abroad, among the nations of the world.

Beyond his identification with the disinherited and his dedication to reconciliation, there was, I believe, another quality that distinguished the life of Robert Kennedy as it did the life of his brother, John F. Kennedy.

It is a quality with immense appeal to the young: It was his commitment to action, not just talk, about the problems that afflicted America and the world.

As his biographer, William Shannon, said in this morning's New York Times, Robert Kennedy believed that "the worst sin is to do nothing," that "one man can make a difference and every man should try", that "government is the worthiest career", and that "moral idealism is a more powerful force than military weapons".

"THE QUESTION IS ALWAYS WHETHER WE WILL ACT"

"The question is always," he told a convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in 1965, "the question is always whether we will act—whether we will teach the children and heal the sick; help the weak and venerate the old."

And here I think of the words of the great French writer, Albert Camus, shortly before he died, asking what men should do, and answering: "My conclusion will be

simple. It will consist of saying in the very midst of sound and fury of our history: 'Let us rejoice.' Let us rejoice at being faced with cruel truths * * *. Let us seek the respite where it is, in the very thick of the battle."

This was the spirit of Robert F. Kennedy—to seek, with courage and compassion, "in the very thick of battle," to reconcile, in justice, man with man and nation with nation.

And this is perhaps why so distinguished a newspaper as the Times of London could say this week—I am sure to the surprise of many Americans—that "If American Presidents were elected by the suffrage of all countries, Robert Kennedy would have gone to the White House next January."

Now Robert Kennedy is dead.

You and I live—and we must ask ourselves what is the meaning of his life and death for us.

I will tell you what I think.

FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

First, I believe that you and I must work to bring all Americans into the fullness of opportunity that, we like to tell ourselves, distinguishes our country from others.

This means that we must seek to make real for all our people—rich and poor, black and white, young and old—the promise of our Declaration of Independence and of our Constitution.

It means a commitment to the search for social justice and, in particular, to working out in some way the enormously difficult problem of the relations between the races.

"America has more money, more power, more skills, more weapons than any other country in the world," said the London Times this week.

But Americans have not yet learned to resolve their racial difficulties and to live together.

The playwright, Arthur Miller, said it another way: "We are 200 million now. Either we begin to construct a civilization, which means a common consciousness of social responsibility, or the predator within us will devour us all."

"Because America has been bigger on promises than any other country, she must be bigger by far on deliveries. Maybe we have only one big promise left in the bag, the promise of social justice for every man regardless of his color or condition * * *"

"Between the promise and its denial—there stands the man with the gun. Between the promise and its denial stands a man holding them apart—the American."

That certainly is the kind of profound and optimistic belief in America that Senator Kennedy had.

TO END HATRED AND INTOLERANCE

There is a second meaning to the life and death of Robert Kennedy. It is that you and I must work to end the hatred and intolerance that increasingly poison the air of American life.

Too many "respectable" citizens contribute to the debasement of the dialog of democracy when they bring to the discussion of political issues on which honorable men can honorably disagree a personal hatred of their

opponent, a rancor and a venom which are not the marks of restrained and civilized men.

And toleration of such personal hatreds of public figures is one of the forces that have helped shape a climate in which, in 5 short years, we have witnessed the death by the assassin's gun of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, George Lincoln Rockwell, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy.

It is up to you and me to speak out the truth that the path of hatred and violence solves nothing, and that the path of tolerance and peaceful persuasion is the only path for a free people to follow.

TO STOP WAR

There is a third meaning to the life of Robert Kennedy of which I shall here speak. It is that war among the nations of this planet, like violence among citizens of the same country, must be stopped as an instrument of resolving conflict.

In his moving eulogy yesterday morning, his voice choking with emotion, Senator Edward M. Kennedy described his brother's life in simple words. He was, he said, "a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, who saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it."

THE MESSAGE OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY

What then is the message of Robert F. Kennedy for you and me?

Why, I think it is very clear.

It is what he said in our own State, in Indianapolis, on the 4th of April of this year, in his extemporaneous remarks on the death of Martin Luther King:

"Aeschylus wrote: 'In our sleep, pain that cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart and in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God.'"

"What we need in the United States . . . is love and wisdom and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our own country, whether they be white or they be black."

"Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people."

Let us dedicate ourselves to *that*, and say a prayer for our country and for Robert Francis Kennedy.

Hon. James M. Hanley
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, last Friday, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Syracuse, N.Y., commemorated the tragic death of Senator Robert Kennedy with a requiem mass at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Thousands of central New Yorkers of every religious persuasion joined in the solemn tribute to the Senator's memory.

The eulogy during the mass was delivered by Msgr. William J. Shannon, rector of the cathedral. Monsignor Shannon eloquently expressed the sentiments that were in the hearts of all of us. I would like to share those poignant thoughts with my colleagues today, as follows:

EULOGY MASS FOR SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
JUNE 7, 1968

When in retrospect you and I combine the trinity of tragedies in the horrible and untimely deaths of President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, and now Senator Robert F. Kennedy, so distraught are we all with grief and wonderment that we look only to God for the answer. Our great country has advanced in science and technology but we have failed somehow to arrive at a satisfactory answer to the enigma of hatred and the violence which is its senseless byproduct. So perhaps we haven't advanced very much at all.

Yet in 1963 within 10 minutes of the announcement of the death of the President there were more than 300 people in this cathedral. Yesterday and today hundreds have come to our masses. This means that we are appalled and crushed by these atrocities, even if we do not solve them. And we are again turning to God in this crisis asking Him not only *why*—but when shall it end and where shall it lead us?

We Catholics speak to God most articulately through the Mass because we believe that it is not only a sacrifice, not only an act of thanksgiving, but as a means of atonement for sin. And we realize that in some mysterious manner, we, through our society, have sinned in all these tragic deaths. So we are here not only to pray for the repose of the soul of Senator Kennedy but each and every one of us is here as a child of Adam knowing that we share in the guilt which made this tragedy possible.

We do not hope to find perfection in the absolute in this life even though Our Lord has counseled us to "be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect" but certainly by our lives, our example, our laws and our striving for perfection we can become a more powerful leaven in making other men in this country see the light of Christ, the love of Christ, and the peace of Christ. As never before we must now love one another more.

The penalty for the opposite is too great a price to pay. It would be telling us otherwise that men of honor and renown are never free from hatred and are therefore never free from harm. Not only is this contrary to every democratic principle we know, it is contrary to every Christian principle we know.

Meanwhile, we shall of course attempt to see these tragic events in the simple spiritual acceptance of God's holy will because we know that from this evil, God, just God that He is, is certain one day to extract the good so mysteriously hidden in its shadows—if mankind will let Him show forth His goodness! And we are left to exclaim with St. Paul, "How incomprehensible are God's judgments, how unsearchable His ways!"

And so this Mass of concelebration is offered by our bishop and his priests as the spiritual gift of the Diocese of Syracuse in this moment of anguish, and it is offered for a number of appropriate intentions. It is offered

as we said as an atonement for our sins. It is offered in thanksgiving to God for a great nation which must become still greater as it strengthens its weaknesses. It is offered for the soul of a great Senator, a great statesman. It is offered as spiritual balm touching the hearts and souls of the wife and children of that Senator, and the remainder of his grieving family. But in a special way it is offered to beg God to continue to give courage and understanding to a mother who has already given too much.

When we gaze upon Michelangelo's famous Pietà we are reminded of this other mother who today cradles in her arms another dead son. It is her third Stabat Mater. She must suffer no more.

The hearts and souls of priests and people alike are linked with this Mass today as we place it as an infinite gift before the throne of God, knowing that through this and the countless other Masses in our great Nation, God will give to Robert Francis Kennedy eternal rest—and peace at last.

Hon. William E. Minshall

OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, the grief which is sweeping our Nation as a result of the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy knows no politics. Americans everywhere share the horror, the shock, and sorrow of the incredible events in Los Angeles. We are bereft of a man who challenged the imagination of his fellow citizens, whose goals for an America at peace and united in brotherhood are the common objectives of all of us.

We shall miss the electric excitement of Senator Kennedy's presence on the national scene. We are the poorer for the loss of a courageous, brilliant young man who should have had many more years of creative, productive life. And the entire world weeps for his family and prays that the tragedies which have stalked the Kennedys will be ended.

Senator Kennedy's memory is poignant in Cleveland, Ohio, where he counted many friends. Our two metropolitan daily newspapers expressed the feelings of our community beautifully today, and I wish to include two particularly appropriate articles from the Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press with these words of my own sorrow and sympathy:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, June 6, 1968]

R. F. K. IS DEAD—A MODERN MAN

(By Thomas Vail)

I cannot believe that just four and a half years after writing about the tragic loss of President John F. Ken-

nedy, I am writing another personal memorial following the assassination of his brother as well.

I had been with President Kennedy just 10 days before his assassination and, sitting next to him at the White House, had discussed many personal and public matters. Suddenly he was swept away in an unbelievable tragedy.

Now once again from the recesses of another warped human being, another Kennedy is struck down, this time the brother with whom I also maintained a personal and professional relationship.

Memories flood the mind.

A recent Sunday at Hickory Hill, their home near Washington, with Bob and Ethel Kennedy, and Ethel pregnant for the 11th time. Although she had a cold, we sat around Ethel's bedroom while Senator Kennedy bounced on the bed in a sweatshirt and tennis shoes talking about the feelings of youth in America.

Then a dash downstairs, a quick bloody mary, a fine stimulating lunch with a few literary and theatrical people, a tennis game in the backyard, the Kennedy children on a trampoline, horses and dogs everywhere.

And there were other times as well. Racing to beat some shaggy Kennedy dogs through a door when Bob Kennedy was Attorney General of the United States.

Having a beer at Cleveland Hopkins International Airport and talking about his future when RFK had lost a brother, his President, his job, and wondering where to go next. A fellow came up to our table and politely asked if he really was Bob Kennedy because he had bet his friend a dollar he was and wanted to collect it.

Great power came to Bob Kennedy sooner and in greater degree than to most. He was a fighter for his friends and family and would go to any length to defend them even when he thought they were wrong. In political action behind the scenes he was the youngest and most talented political organizer of this century, having been able to control the convention of the majority party of the United States at the age of 34.

Robert Kennedy not only ignored danger but often sought it out, for reasons known only to himself.

On the political platform as a candidate himself, he evoked extreme like and dislike. But with those who knew him well this reaction was not so apparent. Bob Kennedy's approach was logical, forthright, aggressive, loyal. He inspired personal friendships more easily than he was able to attract voters.

I remember, too, a dramatic moment at the Democratic National Convention in 1964 after the nomination of President Johnson, and then Senator Hubert H. Humphrey when Robert Kennedy stood alone on the platform in a darkened and silent hall to receive a special homage from a great political party for its fallen President. He was subdued then. Somehow as time wore on he regained his composure and took over the leadership of the Kennedy clan.

I always found him the most interesting of any of the Kennedys I have known. He had a fine sense of humor, only slightly sarcastic and at times self-disdaining. He never failed to catch the essence of the problems presented to him.

In the final analysis, Bob Kennedy was his own man, neither a reflection of his brothers nor of his wealthy

father. He pursued life vigorously, aggressively, roughly, for what he felt was the good of the country. A "modern man" who may have had too much too soon, Bob Kennedy may also have pressed his case too hard.

RFK seemed most at ease with his wife surrounded by his children, who are the ones who will have to carry on the fine tradition of a father who by any standard gave to life all he had, and then some.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, June 6, 1968]

HIS SHINING HOUR WILL NEVER COME

He, too, seemed to walk in a special light.

It flashed on the tousled, rusty hair—in the glow of his eyes—in the sparkle of his smile.

He, too, had that charming Boston accent, and he, too, spoke words of hope that inspired the young to dream of an honorable America where violence would disappear and brotherhood could become more than a word.

Robert Kennedy was their Pied Piper, just as his brother had been, and he, too, sought the road to Camelot.

But his shining hour will never come.

Was he the cold, ruthless, power-driven politician his enemies described?

Was he the inspired man of burning vision, capable of lifting America from a seeming abyss of despair, as his supporters said?

No one ever will be sure.

But this he was—

A laughing boy who romped on the beach and sailed the salty waters of Hyannis Port.

The boy who interrupted his college career to volunteer as a Navy seaman.

And the man of 42 who played and laughed and prayed with his 10 children—who climbed mountains and piloted rafts through perilous waters—who played touch football with brothers and sisters—who returned a full measure of love and compassion to his parents—a devoted husband who unblushingly said he needed his wife at his side always.

A fighter against evil from his public debut as the racket-busting chief counsel to a Senate committee to his Attorney General years as a passionate champion of civil rights.

The young respected him. The little people said, "He was one of us." The mobs screamed and surged to touch and hear him.

Now, for Robert Kennedy, too, the road to Camelot will end in Arlington Cemetery.

And while we shudder in horror at one more blow of senseless violence, we will remember his words—

"The victims are, most important of all, human beings whom other human beings loved and needed."

Hon. Wright Patman OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that a good measure of the greatness in a man's life is the extent to which it is meaningful to his contemporaries and to those who come after him. There are many

indications even now that Robert Francis Kennedy had a power to communicate with and influence his fellow Americans that approaches the inexplicable. That a man of great personal wealth should devote his time to constructive labors rather than to personal enjoyment is not unique in America, nor is he alone among his peers in his zeal to help the less privileged. There have been tooth-and-nail fighters in our midst before, champions of the people who charged into corruption, ineptitude or stifling bureaucracy in the public interest. But no other man combined these attributes with a style that at one time bespoke both the aristocrat and the populist. What has been called the Kennedy mystique was and is most apparent in the man lovingly called "Bobby" by populations far beyond the shores of his native land. It detracts nothing from his noble brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, to say that the Kennedy Presidency took much of its direction, energy, and character from a dedicated Attorney General.

The legend and the purpose of Robert Kennedy will be with us for centuries to come, his impact upon those young admirers who surrounded him wherever he went will manifest itself in ways that we cannot yet predict. He was tense, active, concerned, earnest, wry, devoted, boisterous, athletic, impetuous and painstaking, moralistic and innovative, gentle and denunciatory, practical and idealistic—all these elements drew their strength and meaning from a life force that was basically as harmonious as the movement of the stars and planets. This harmony was formed and nurtured in the midst of a wonderful family where parents, brothers, sisters, and relatives shared a dedicated commitment to family unity, while they achieved an astonishing individuality.

Senator Kennedy had an unshakable trust, belief, and hope in America, and in the efficacy of hard work; what you envisioned you worked for, and what you worked for was obtainable.

His lifetime of work has not been abolished or nullified; it continues with a miraculous augmentation of significance and power. His final teaching to Americans and to the world is that mankind is worthy of the age-old struggle for dignity.

When future generations review the history of this 20th century, Robert Francis Kennedy will, I believe, be among the select group of heroic men

who gave the world a deeper understanding and a great new moral force.

Hon. Fred B. Rooney OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, this House, this Congress, this Nation are deeply saddened today because an assassin's bullet has quieted the energies of yet another great American.

Twice within 5 years a family which has dedicated so much of itself to public service has felt the tragic loss of a son who had attained national prominence for his deeds.

First, President John F. Kennedy was martyred by an assassin.

Now, his brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was moving forward along a path which might have led him, too, to the White House, has been cut down violently.

These men, like others martyred as they pursue a dream for a greater America, leave us with a deep feeling of despair. Senator Kennedy's death this morning has marred what otherwise would be a truly beautiful day. The bright, blue sky above our Nation's Capital today belies my own feelings on this day and the feelings of all Americans, I am certain.

Yet, perhaps, the bright blue sky exemplifies the greater hope for fulfillment of the dreams of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy which we realize because they lived and because they served.

Senator Kennedy's death was tragic. Yet, it has illuminated an even greater tragedy. It is that one member of our society felt compelled to kill another member of our society because they held conflicting views. The suspected assassin had come to the United States more than a decade ago from another land. But during the years he lived among us in America, he somehow failed to grasp the basic principles of our free, democratic society.

It is obvious he did not fully understand that the American way to resolve differences is by reasoned persuasion, discussion, negotiation. Not by violence. Not by killing.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that from this new tragedy, all Americans can gain strength to do more than we have ever done to achieve the full realization of the American dream without fear.

My most sincere sympathy is extended to all

of the Kennedy family and especially to his courageous wife and children.

Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, in the past week of national tragedy and mourning, many friends of Senator Robert F. Kennedy remembered those impressions of him that symbolized the man.

In the Boston Herald Traveler, of June 6, 1968, was an article by George Sullivan. This article was on the sports page of the Herald and that is fitting for George Sullivan knew Bob Kennedy from the days of the Harvard football team.

George Sullivan is the distinguished son of an illustrious father. I knew his father, Tim, for many years; he was a close, personal friend. Tim Sullivan was one of the most beloved public figures in the city of Cambridge for many years.

George Sullivan has the same sensitivity as his father and his memory of Senator Robert Kennedy is one of the most touching I have read. The article has been acclaimed by the national television and radio system and by the Nation's press. I include it in the Record, as follows:

HARVARD STADIUM VISIT RECALLS KENNEDY THE
ATHLETE—SENATOR USED TO CHAUFFEUR WATER
BOYS

(By George Sullivan)

Harvard Stadium was never as silent as it was yesterday morning.

I know because that is where I went to meditate after receiving news of a tragedy that had occurred nearly 3,000 miles away. People retreated to many places to pray and try to comprehend that catastrophe. They went to churches and dark rooms and other places of solitude to be alone and try to cope with this twisted and awful thing.

NOT STRANGE PLACE AT ALL

I went to an empty football field, a seemingly odd place to mourn the fate of a U.S. Senator and presidential candidate fighting for his life. But for me it was not a strange place at all, for it was in Harvard Stadium that I first knew that man and formed a friendship which I have treasured for nearly 22 of my 34 years. I have known the man as an Attorney General of the United States and as a Senator from New York. But in many ways I prize more the memories of the earlier years, for they are basic to the knowledge of the man who was to rise to such rare and enormous offices.

So let me tell you what kind of an athlete Bob Kennedy was—and what kind of a sports enthusiast he has always been—because the telling of it reveals an insight into the type man he is.

You must understand from the start that my story is basically unflavored by what happened in Los Angeles yesterday. It is written objectively—although with the heaviest of hearts—and without glorification. Such is not needed, because it is compiled from simple facts which speak eloquently enough for themselves and need no embellishment. And so it is the same story I would have told you the day, month, or year before yesterday if you had asked me.

Let me also make clear from the beginning that, while I am a friend of Bob, I am not an intimate one. But that only makes what I want to tell you all the more significant. That I've been a comparative nobody over the span of this friendship—first as a kid, later as a sportswriter—only accentuates the portrait.

I have known the man since I was 12. That was in 1946 when I was a water boy for the Harvard football team on which Robert F. Kennedy '48 was a junior and reserve end.

Dick Harlow's 1946 and 1947 Crimson editions were not typical collegiate football teams as we know them today. World War II had just ended and the team was composed mostly of service veterans just back from overseas. The median age was 23–24 and I believe one of them—Johnny Gorczinski—was approaching 30. And they had a unique maturity a youngster could admire.

The 1946 team sort of adopted me and another water boy, Ted Rattigan, off the field as well as on. We both lived in Cambridge's modest Kerry Corner section within the shadow of Harvard.

On weekends we were the guests of the players at the Harvard Varsity Club. Many of the athletes resided there and others who roomed instead in the "house" dormitories still used the club as their base of operation.

LEARNED ABOUT POLITICS, TOO

The athletes taught a couple of 12-year-olds how to play pool on those weekends. They also taught us something about politics, too—the favorite topic of conversation outside of football shop talk. An ex-sailor named Kennedy and a former navigator-bombardier named Ken O'Donnell were always discussing and arguing politics and their teammates eagerly joined in.

These were full weekends for a couple of youngsters, and activities were not confined to the Varsity Club. The players often took their two "mascots" around town on their errands and to events like Celtics games. The principal modes of transportation—shared by the players—were a somewhat beat-up black convertible belonging to Kennedy and a war surplus Jeep owned by a student manager. Both invited pneumonia—the convertible's heater always seemed out of order, and the Jeep's canvas top was shredded and did absolutely nothing to keep out snow and rain.

The next session—1947—was much more of the same. There was one change, among others, however, Kennedy—at 5–10, 165—won a starting berth for the season's opener.

In all frankness, despite his enormous popularity among most of his teammates, Bob's promotion wasn't greeted with total joy. A few suggested the Kennedy name had contributed to his choice as a starter. It was a bum rap. Ask anyone who knew how Harlow evaluated football

talent. He was a coach influenced by only one thing, and that wasn't anyone's name.

Harvard scored a 52-0 victory over Western Maryland in the opener, and six of those points came on a 6-yard O'Donnell-to-Kennedy pass. It proved to be Bob's first and last touchdown for the Crimson.

Despite pinching a neck nerve in that game, Bob had a special collar fitted and practiced the next week. At least he did for a day or two. During a scrimmage he tried to block an opposing back near the sideline—and missed, crashing heavily into an equipment wagon out of bounds. But he scrambled to his feet and returned to his position. Three days later he collapsed, X-rays revealed he'd been practicing on a broken leg.

So Bob's Harvard football career was ended, although he wore No. 86 twice again as he made token appearances against Brown and Yale at season's end.

It is probably presumptuous and unfair to suggest who Bob's closest football friends were at Harvard—the guys who were always needling his nonsmoking, nondrinking and clean-living habits. That's impossible to gage. But I don't think any of them will complain if I top the list with Ken and Cleo O'Donnell, Nick Rodis, Chuck Glynn, Bill Brady and Chuck Roche. They were among the ushers in the wedding party when Bob and Ethel were married in June 1950.

OUTSTANDING ON DEFENSE

I talked with one by telephone yesterday: Rodis, now athletic director at Brandeis. Besides the need to commiserate, I suppose, I wanted to double check on my assessment on Bob's abilities at Harvard. I didn't want to risk possible miscalculation since I had observed them as a youngster and decided to get the impressions of one of his contemporaries. And the views of Rodis—who headed the State Department's athletic programs for 5 years until joining Brandeis last summer and who currently along with Stan Musial cochaired the Sportsmen for Kennedy Committee—coincided precisely with mine.

These are Nick's words:

"Harlow said it all for Bob's football ability when he once told me after practice one day that Bobby was the toughest kid pound for pound—more guts and zip—he had coached since Bobby Green 10 years before. Bob was a tiger and without question earned the starter's job. Because of limited size, he wasn't devastating on offense, although not bad either. But on defense he was outstanding—almost impossible to knock off his feet and tough as nails. So while we might have had better pass-catcher's in 1947, Bob still deserved the starter's job because he put the entire game together—defense and offense—in that day of one-platoon football.

"And he did it with heart.

"That heart is also his key as a person and always has been since the day I first bumped into him in his sailor suit in 1946. That bull peddled by some in recent years—the part about him supposedly being cold and ruthless—has always infuriated me. Nothing could be further from the truth. He was a man with a golden heart if there ever was one.

"All the fellows on the team at Harvard knew he was extremely wealthy. But nobody tried to take advantage of him. Yet anyone in trouble always knew he

could go to Bobby—and would. He was always the first guy wanting to help and be with you when the chips were down.

"And he has never changed over the years. Never. He is the most considerate man I've ever known. And don't take my word for it. Ask anyone who has ever worked alongside of him—on the football field or anywhere else."

I can vouch for that with many examples, but will restrict myself to one.

My employment as waterboy had lasted only 1 year. In the summer of 1947 an ankle-to-thigh cast was placed on my left leg—to remain there for the better part of 2 years. So, I could no longer be employed at \$1 a day to carry the water buckets and help tote the equipment. Out of sympathy, I guess, my pal Teddy resigned, too. From then on we were strictly "mascots"—and settled for those wonderful weekends and being privvy to the team's secret practice session, developing into shutter-bugs, becoming the team's "official snapshot photographers" as the players used to say.

USED PLAYERS' ENTRANCE

Our only problem was on game days. We always joined the players as they headed from Dillon Field House across the lawn to the stadium for pregame warmups. They'd embrace us among their ranks and march us through the players' entrance into the field.

The problem was, you had to show a ticket to get within the enclosed outer perimeter of Soldiers Field in those days as well as once again to get inside the stadium itself. We couldn't afford those tickets. So every game morning—pal Teddy would boost me to the top of the 10-foot, spike-topped fence along Soldiers Field and I'd jump—cast and all. We'd often get caught inside before we'd reach the fieldhouse and would be ejected—only to repeat the process a second and sometimes third time. But we never missed our "appointment."

The players never knew about these acrobatics—they assumed we had passes, and I guess we were too proud to enlighten them. Bob was the first to find out about it and roasted me for risking breaking my neck. From then on, Bob—his own left leg encased in a smaller cast—insisted on picking us up at my home in his convertible on future game mornings and driving us to the fieldhouse. And he did—often driving out to the suburbs after collecting us to pick up his date en route to the stadium.

I've often thought since that those girls must have been delighted to find two 13-year-old boys along on their dates.

And I've never failed to remind Bob in later years that he was an excellent chauffeur. After all, how many people can claim they had a future Attorney General, brother and adviser of a President, Senator, and presidential candidate chauffeuring him around?

This is only one example, but I could cite others over the years.

And these were the things—among so much that scrambled through my mind yesterday as I stood in an empty stadium.

The sun high above seemed a mockery. It was shining brilliantly.

Hon. Seymour Halpern
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, our troubled Nation lost one of her most devoted servants when the bullet of an assassin ended the life of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. America grieves for the Kennedy family, for itself, and for the world.

For me, it is a deep personal loss. As a Representative from New York, I was privileged to work with him and to get to know him. Although we represented different political parties, we shared a devotion to the interests of the people of New York and many common goals.

Robert F. Kennedy would have had public attention even had he not dedicated his life to public service. He was a wealthy man, a member of a famous family, brother of a President, and the head of a special and wonderful family of his own.

We think of Robert Kennedy joking, or gesturing with force, or mourning his murdered brother, or playing with his children. We think of him with crowds of admirers surrounding him, one of the great public figures of our time.

He did not have to do it. There was no need for him to place himself in the controversial candidacy that brought him to his death. And yet, in the Kennedy tradition, he intended to be heard and he had to make his contribution to the political life of our country.

We are all weaker for his loss, but we should be stronger for his influence. Robert Francis Kennedy had a magic about him that brought the crushing, cheering crowds to his side, that gave many of us hope in a time of great trouble and disillusionment. If we are to truly honor him in death, we must recapture the hope he epitomized. We must build the America he knew was within our grasp. He said:

We can do better.

It is up to us, who admired him, who worked with him, who loved him, to carry out the job he left undone—to do better, and to build the America of Robert Kennedy's dreams.

Hon. Lee H. Hamilton
OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the report of

tribute to Senator Robert F. Kennedy by my colleague, Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr., and by the mayor of Indianapolis, Richard Lugar.

The newspaper account tells us that some 300 Indianapolis residents remained for an hour and one-half in 92-degree temperatures for an outdoor memorial program.

The words and the reactions described in the article typify the reaction across the country to this tragedy. The newspaper account of the memorial program reads as follows:

LUGAR LEADS MOURNERS OF CITY IN MEMORIAL TO
FALLEN KENNEDY

Mayor Richard G. Lugar said yesterday that the citizens of the United States must not let the deed of an assassin overshadow the life and accomplishments of Robert F. Kennedy, nor can we allow ourselves to be swept away in a tide of violence.

Lugar addressed an estimated 300 mourners of the slain Senator here at a memorial service at the Washington Street Plaza of the City-County Building.

Speaking in 92-degree temperature, the 36-year-old mayor eulogized Senator Kennedy for his determination to always be present, "in neighborhoods where men and women cry out for understanding."

The crowd, both young and old, white and Negro, sat silently in the stifling heat more than 90 minutes, in memory of the 42-year-old Democratic presidential candidate who was fatally shot after his victory in the California primary last Tuesday.

U.S. Representative Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Democrat of Indiana, a strong Kennedy supporter, said the Nation partially must be to blame for the killing.

"No man is an island," Jacobs said. "The shot was fired by one who lived among us. What each person says and does is influenced in some measure by what is said and done around him."

Jacobs criticized American tastes in movies and television which, he said, "reveal a taste for violence which cannot be separated" from reality.

"If one lives in a life surrounded by gentleness and love his ability to control himself from acts of violence is greater," he said, "and if he is surrounded by hostility and hate he is likely to consider violence."

Mayor Lugar, a Republican, said although it is difficult to accept that the assassinations of recent years were senseless and absurd acts by individuals, society must discount the idea they were the products of conspiracies by either communism or those who oppose civil rights.

"I am deeply weary of the drone of voices who wish to chastise the United States of America," the mayor said. "Or those who use our grief to further a political or theological premise."

Lugar said even the Senator's political opponents must admire Kennedy for "coming to the people."

"He could be gentle with children and youth but curt with adults who were loyal only when the sun shone and turned tail so very quickly when clouds appeared," Lugar said.

One of the young admirers of the New York Senator explained why she attended the services yesterday:

"I loved him. He knew what we wanted and what we needed," said Brenda Gregory, 17 years old, 2217 South Meridian Street.

Another man, 79-year-old Henry A. Sleets, 2030 North Capitol Avenue, leaned on his cane and said:

"It was no more my duty than all the rest of America to be here for a good man."

Another man, who brought his wife and young daughter to the services, said: "I had great respect for the Senator—and for what he stood. I was moved by the services on television."

Hon. Ed Edmondson OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Speaker, on June 8, 1968, Senator Edward M. Kennedy paid tribute to his fallen brother, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the funeral was held.

I believe that these remarks by Senator Edward Kennedy made to a nation stricken with grief will long stand and be cherished by America and the world. They are more than a beautiful eulogy. They are words that capture the spirit of idealism and courage, and I believe that they will remain a source of strength and inspiration for all who seek to reaffirm and rededicate themselves to those labors that must find strength in the qualities of idealism and courage.

The complete text of Senator Edward Kennedy's remarks follow:

EDWARD SPEAKS FOR FAMILY, TELLS "WHAT WE FEEL"

On behalf of Mrs. Robert Kennedy, her children and the parents and sisters of Robert Kennedy, I want to express what we feel to those who mourn with us today in this cathedral and around the world.

We loved him as a brother and father and son. From his parents, and from his older brothers and sisters—Joe, Kathleen, and Jack—he received inspiration which he passed on to all of us. He gave us strength in time of trouble, wisdom in time of uncertainty, and sharing in time of happiness. He was always by our side.

Love is not an easy feeling to put into words. Nor is loyalty, or trust or joy. But he was all of these. He loved life completely, and lived it intensely.

A few years back, Robert Kennedy wrote some words about his own father and they expressed the way we in his family feel about him. He said of what his father meant to him:

"What it really all adds up to is love—not love as it is described with much facility in popular magazines, but the kind of love that is affection and respect, order, encouragement and support. Our awareness of this was an incalculable source of strength, and because real

love is something unselfish and involves sacrifices and giving, we could not help but profit from it."

"Beneath it all, he has tried to engender a social conscience. There were wrongs which needed attention. There were people who were poor and who needed help. And we have a responsibility to them and to this country. Through no virtues and accomplishments of our own, we have been fortunate enough to be born in the United States under the most comfortable conditions. We, therefore, have a responsibility to others who are less well off."

This is what Robert Kennedy was given. What he leaves us is what he said, what he did and what he stood for. A speech he made to the young people of South Africa on their Day of Affirmation in 1966 sums it up the best, and I would read it now:

"There is a discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; and millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with use are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

"Our answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to the present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that comes with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation at home and around the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant Reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but

each of us can work to change a small portion of the events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But there are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves, on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason, and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American society.

"Our future may be beyond our vision, but is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but where is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

This is the way he lived. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him.

"Some men see things as they are and say why.

I dream things that never were and say why not."

Hon. Lucien N. Nedzi OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, this Nation has, in the last few years, suffered blow after tragic blow. And the Kennedy family has suffered more than any family should be asked to bear.

We weep for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, his loving family, and our wounded Nation.

The murder of Robert F. Kennedy is a nightmare. It seems impossible that another Kennedy could be struck down in midpassage, young, full of life, full of promise. My God, he was only 42.

This is a difficult century. More than ever America needs every one of that small previous number who have a compassionate view of man, a global view of history, and who serve their fellow Americans in high public office.

As a public official, as a man, and as a father, Robert F. Kennedy was an inexpandable national treasure.

More than that, even, Robert F. Kennedy represented tomorrow. Now his tomorrows are over, ours are in doubt, and once again, as in November 1963, we have that great, empty feeling.

Our hearts go out to his family and loved ones.

Hon. Dominick V. Daniels OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, a valued constituent of mine, Mr. Joseph A. Caspar, of West New York, N.J., has written two fine poetic tributes to the memory of President John F. Kennedy and Senator Robert Francis Kennedy of New York.

Mr. Speaker, I include these two fine poems by Mr. Caspar in the Record following my remarks.

The poems follow:

FAREWELL TO A SENATOR (By Joseph A. Caspar)

A fighting man, a man was he.
He fought for peoples' liberty.
President he may have been,
If only the world was free from sin.
In California, he'll be remembered the most,
And all through the U.S.A., coast to coast.
It was in Los Angeles, this story began,
At the California primary, in which he ran.

The Senator won, votes went his way.
 Then came the shots, that made it a gloomy day.
 Six persons were injured, the Senator was one,
 And they caught the assassin with the gun.
 The Senator lie in an unconscious state,
 But the doctors could not change his fate.
 He died on the 6th day of June, 1968,
 In the same manner of John his brother of late.
 From Los Angeles to New York, his body was flown,
 To Saint Patrick's Cathedral, where it was known,
 His body there would lie in state, until the mass,
 And thousands of people, by his casket would pass.
 His body was then brought by rail,
 To journey, on his last long trail.
 The mourners waited, as the trains rolled by,
 All were somber, many with tears in their eyes.
 The casket was in the twenty-first car,
 As the funeral trains traveled afar.
 Through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, to Delaware,
 Maryland and Washington, D.C., as people waited there.
 The trains arrived, darkness had set in,
 They carried the casket, the Navy Band played a Hymn.
 The funeral procession then left Union Station,
 Seen on T.V., all over the Nation.
 Down Constitution Avenue the cortege moved along,
 At the Lincoln Memorial, there was sung a song.
 The Battle Hymn of the Republic, for which we all stand,
 As did Lincoln, the Kennedys all three so grand.
 They will all be together in Heaven above,
 To talk of the things, they all did love.
 Then over the Memorial Bridge he was taken,
 To be sent to Heaven, where he shall awaken.
 To National Arlington Cemetery, for his last ride,
 To be buried by his brother John, side by side.
 So, Robert F. Kennedy, a man was he,
 Who died, fighting, for American's freedom and equality.

FAREWELL TO A PRESIDENT

(By Joseph A. Caspar)

This trip he made, was it to no avail,
 Driving down that Texan trail.
 The crowds all cheered, as he smiled back,
 Then came the sound of a rifle crack.
 His car sped forward to the hospital near,
 But life for the President ended here.
 The suspected killer was caught nearby,
 But not before a policeman died.
 They held him in their county jail,
 When being moved his face turned pale.
 A shot rang out, he fell down,
 Killed by a man who was in town.
 Meanwhile the President was flown away,
 To the Capital where he did stay.
 His casket there, it lie in State,
 So that all the world could see his fate.
 The T-V viewers, the people there,
 All could see and the sorrows share.
 The 25th day of November, that was the day,
 Our dear President was on his way.
 The people stood by and all looked grim,
 When out stepped his son and saluted him.

His wife, his daughter, his family dear,
 All looked down and standing near.
 The men of the Armed Forces did their share,
 To show for the President they did care.
 Six white horses, and one on the side,
 Took our President on his last ride.
 First to the Church where you heard the mass,
 Then over the bridge, through the gates they did pass.
 Arlington National Cemetery, that's where they went,
 To bury our 35th President.
 The casket was set atop of the grave,
 Our flag was held by servicemen brave.
 A 21 gun salute, for a hero so true,
 Who has given his life, for his country and you.
 The bugler blew the taps aloud,
 Not a stir or a sound was heard from the crowd.
 The family left, then the dignitaries too,
 And down went the casket for a life anew.
 So hoping his life was not given in vain,
 And by his quotation there's a lot we can gain.
 "It's not what your country can do for you, but what
 you can do for your country".

Hon. Jeffery Cohelan OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mrs. Michael S. Yonan, familiar with the beauty and grandeur of Yosemite National Park, proposes that the rock formation identified centuries ago by Indians as "The Brothers Three," be renamed for Joseph, John, and Robert Kennedy.

Mrs. Yonan has sent her suggestion to Director John Hartzog, of the National Park Service, together with her personal tribute to the Kennedy brothers. In order to share this proposal and Mrs. Yonan's moving tribute with my colleagues, I would like to insert at this point in the Record a copy of her letter to Director Hartzog:

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
 June 8, 1968.

Subject: "The Three Brothers" rock formation, Yosemite National Park, Calif.

Mr. GEORGE B. HARTZOG, Jr.,
 Director, National Park Service,
 U.S. Department of the Interior,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: In the light of the tragic event of the past week, I felt strongly motivated to suggest that the rock formation in Yosemite National Park, California, for centuries known as "The Three Brothers", be further designated as "*Joseph, John and Robert Kennedy*" in honor of three valiant brothers who have given their lives for our Nation.

Having always considered Yosemite as my second home, I can think of no visible monument more fitting, as indicated by the following lines:

"THE BROTHERS THREE

"Among the granite monoliths
 Hand-hewn by glacial artistry,
 Our God in His own time has set
 Within his garden called *Yosemite*,
 A rare baguette—
 A jewel known to visitors like me,
 And by the Indians called,
The Brothers Three.
 "Among the rarest manly souls
 Created in our century,
 Our God in His own time has wrought
 Within one family known as Kennedy,
 Three rarer yet—
 Admired and loved by countrymen like me,
 For whom they sacrificed their lives,
The Brothers Three
 "Above the Eden-like grandeur
 O Nation, lift your eyes to see,
 Our God in His own time has given
 Within the lives of three young men
 A trilogy—
 And stones like these cry out to you and me
 To hearken to the lives of
Joseph, John and Robert Kennedy!
 "Beyond the grandest monoliths,
 Bold witnesses of noble souls
 Of three who ventured, unafraid,
 God calls us to pursue His goals
 Obediently.
 And as we lift our hearts His love to know,
 Let us perceive, believe and go—
For brothers all, are we!"

—G. P. YONAN.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. MICHAEL S. YONAN.

Hon. John J. Rooney

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there is little that we can say here today that will diminish the terrible loss the Kennedy family, our Government, and our people suffer through the wanton slaying of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy earlier this month. What words do we have that can convey the shock, the numbness? What words do we have that can convey our feelings to this once again sorely tried family? We can only say, as do all Americans and people the world over, that our hearts and our prayers go out to them.

But we can add, Mr. Speaker, in answer to those who say we are a sick society, that Robert Kennedy and his brother, John, before him were the spirit of America, not the senseless assassins who struck them down. To be sure there is a degree of sickness in our society, but that does

not mean that society itself is sick in its entirety. Any society that can produce a family capable of the warmth, compassion, leadership, and moral integrity demonstrated by the Kennedys has much to be said in its behalf.

Mr. Speaker, to those of us who have been privileged to intimately know the late Robert Kennedy and his brother, John, this day is too fraught with emotion to continue overlong. May I just say that Mrs. Rooney and I extend our hearts and prayers to Ethel, all the children, and the entire Joseph Kennedy family.

Hon. Hugh L. Carey

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I take this time this evening, joining with my distinguished colleague, Representative Edward Boland, of Massachusetts, as a friend of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, to pay fitting honor to his memory. We are indeed gratified that so many Members have indicated their desire to participate in this moment of tribute. A great many messages and a great many words and a great many sentiments are being properly expressed by the Members of this House in reverence to the memory of this late and great American who has gone to his eternal reward.

Mr. Speaker, Thomas More, the great lawyer-saint, is known as a "man for all seasons." In his lifetime, he gave his life in defense of principle, standing as one man against the wicked use of power. It is too early to assess the full impact on history of the life of my beloved friend, Robert F. Kennedy. But while our memory is fresh in recollection, it is appropriate that we record the impression he made on all of us who knew him. Nothing maudlin, nothing sombre should be said in his memory. Like Thomas More, he did not permit sorrow and grief to distract him or deter him from his course of action. He knew sorrow and he felt deeply grieved at the loss of his brothers and his sister and his contemporaries in war, but he would not afford himself the comfort he gave so willingly to others.

The premature age lines engraved in his face and around his eyes were there because he had seen in his two-score years far too much of hungry children and wounded men and scarred poor people and misery without reason in both

war and peace. These impressions, these forces were driven more than skin deep. They motivated him, drove him, compelled him to use all he had, all he was, and all he is to change the course of the world in which he lived. As Thomas More was a "man for all seasons" who stood against the injustice of his time, Robert Kennedy was, and is, a young man—a man of two seasons—spring and summer. He was, and is, a symbol of youth and growth and change and coming to life. He could cope with the unleashed furies of passion and hatred because he had a supernatural quality of understanding, the same quality given to all men in their souls. He used this deep understanding as a revetment. He gaged the force and drift of the raging torrent of dissent, disbelief and disorder. He sought to transform these forces as a dam tames a river into a power for change for good for betterment.

The springtime of Robert Kennedy, like any springtime, was in turn stormy and serene. I have seen him storm and look and think darkly about falsity and prejudice, dishonesty, and hatred. Then without warning he would defuse the tension with a boy's laughter. He was fond of quoting the Greeks; I sometimes suspected that some of his own original observations were attributed to Greeks who never were because he loved to use the ancient to tease the modern. As the breezes of spring tease the earth and call forth its best growth, so did Robert Kennedy dare his generation to stir itself from serenity, to grow strong, to stand tall. Let it be remembered that whatever he dared men to do he was willing to do himself despite the risk involved.

Some thought him reckless because he climbed an unscaled mountain, swam a river live with piranha, or rode the rapids in a frail shell. He did these things because he knew they could be done and they were meant to be done in the divine order by which man prevails over nature. In this way he shaped his own nature, his character, his will, and the lives of those in the world around him. In this way he prepared himself to reach the high places of leadership to work against the tide of indifference and to navigate through the shoals of negativism. To think of Robert Kennedy in the abstract in symbolism of spring and summer is perhaps paradoxical. The abstract belongs in memoirs written by a man himself. Realities better describe a man as others knew him. I knew Robert Kennedy as a very real

person. Vividly I recall his visit in a school for deaf children—all kinds of deaf children—infants and Negroes and Puerto Ricans and palsied-deaf children. He coddled them and joshed them and poked them until their embarrassment turned to joy and delight because they sensed a bond, a sensitivity, a kinship among the aged and infirm, the withdrawn and weathered people of an old folks home I saw cataracts of boredom fall away and eyes turn bright as the enfeebled were enthused by his gentle touch.

Robert Kennedy was at his best when nameless and faceless people tried to taunt him from their safe refuge in a milling crowd. I have seen him turn scorn into laughter, hurt into humor, and stupidity into stimulation, and what he could do in a crowd he had done in the great centers of the world—in Japan, in South America, in Africa, and in Europe. And if he was at his best in a crowd, he was most beloved on those all too rare occasions when he could permit himself the privacy of friends and family.

Anyone who ever knew the Robert Kennedy of Hickory Hill had to believe that the fate of future generations could be well entrusted to his hands. Seeing him among his children and other children who gathered around him in his home inspired the belief that all he was doing, all he was saying, all he was giving was for one purpose. He wanted to make this world one great summertime for these children and tomorrow's children. He sought the kind of world—of longer sunny days and warm and restful nights in which children can best laugh and play and grow and rest. He liked both to lead children to try harder, and at the same time to protect them from harm. I recall a summer weekend on a Long Island bay when he and Ethel Kennedy were showing our children and the children of our neighbors their "Hyannis Port technique" in water skiing and slalom. Some of the children who could hardly swim did not give up until they could learn to ski like Bobby; and, in fact, shamed their mothers and fathers until we all became water skiers with groans and splashes and backaches. But while he inspired the children he was careful to caution his that where there were several areas of shallow depth to be avoided by novices for fear of injury to a child.

I noticed this at other times in motorcades, at rallies. He always looked for the small child who was being pushed or nearly trampled and often pulled the little one to him for protection.

Toward the end of spring and before the summertime this year, Robert Kennedy had to leave the children—his children and all of our children. Now it is up to us to protect them from harm and save them for the summertime as he would have done—this man of two seasons who did not live through the autumn and winter of life. He lives in these children, and this we must not doubt.

We saw the Kennedy children at St. Patrick's Cathedral offering gifts at the altar before which Robert Kennedy, in repose, had made his final offering. We saw young Joseph Kennedy walk through the train of glory and passing from his springtime to summertime, from young child of his father to the young manhood as his father should have wished. We know from these signs that the life and time and seasons of Robert Kennedy will go on. Robert F. Kennedy lived in the springtime of vision and prepared for the summer of change, growth, and fruition. Through the seasons before us in tribute to his memory we can no longer be content to rest and await the equinox. Before we make, as he has made, the long day's journey to Arlington, we must call forth the light of love for all mankind and end the darkness. This is our vigil. If one man in two seasons of life proved, as he proved, that there can be an end to war and hunger and hatred and fear, then all of us who live must no longer be in doubt. The seeds of understanding which he planted among so many people and in so many places are for all of us to harvest. The "guns of August" can be silenced if we will hear his call for peace.

As his brother, Edward M. Kennedy, has said, there is no need for anyone to enlarge the memory of Robert Kennedy to make him more than he was in life, a decent man.

At the same time, as he never stopped learning, we must take care that the important things he taught us will never be diminished. Carl Kaysen has said that Robert Kennedy was "infinitely educable." Thankfully, we have the time to learn from him and thus to educate our children and be ourselves more educable. Frank Mankiewicz expresses this best when he wrote the following:

He was one of those rare men whose education continues after adulthood. He was learning all the time: from books, from his staff, his friends, the press, and from his joyous participation in the public life of his country. And, in the process, he taught us a lot. His analyses of men and events were as shrewd as his insights were

illuminating, and the standards he set—for himself and his staff—had the curious result of making us all think we were better than we were.

The day after his funeral, a family left flowers at Arlington with the inscription, "Escam dedit timantibus se (He nourished those who revered him)." Also those who worked for him—and who love him.

Hon. Edward R. Roybal OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my fellow Members of the House of Representatives in paying tribute to the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York, whose tragic assassination has stunned and shocked the Nation.

In particular, I want to extend my deepest sympathy and condolences to Mrs. Kennedy and the entire Kennedy family. They should know that their loss is shared by all Americans, and by people the world over.

We in California have special cause to grieve that such a brilliant career of public service should be so brutally ended; that a young leader of such extraordinary energy and dedication—who had served his country so well—and whose ideals and example had inspired millions throughout the world, should be so senselessly and tragically taken from us.

As the President said:

A noble and compassionate leader, a good and faithful servant of the people, in the full vigor of his promise, lies dead from an assassin's bullet.

The tragedy and the senseless violence of Robert F. Kennedy's death casts a deep shadow of grief across America and across the world.

This is a moment for all Americans to join hands and walk together through this dark night of common anguish into a new dawn of healing unity. * * * Robert Kennedy affirmed this country—affirmed the essential decency of its people, their longing for peace, their desire to improve conditions of life for all.

During his life, he knew far more than his share of personal tragedy.

Yet he never abandoned his faith in America. He never lost his confidence in the spiritual strength of ordinary men and women, he believed in the capacity of the young for excellence—and in the right of the old and poor to a life of dignity.

Our public life is diminished by his loss.

Mr. Speaker, Senator Kennedy's life itself was an expression of ideals and beliefs held in reverence by all Americans.

Even in our grief we must remember that this man, who suffered through the assassination of his brother, refused to listen to the counsels of fear and timidity. Instead, he moved about freely and fearlessly, confident that his countrymen shared his absolute faith in America's hallmark of freedom of speech and debate. He remained convinced of our Nation's basic soundness.

Here, Mr. Speaker, was a man of compassion and a man of strength. He was the friend of the poor, the enemy of poverty. He was a champion of justice, the inveterate foe of special privilege. He fought for the ideals to which he was devoted. He dared to do his duty as he understood it.

And now, because of his death, the entire world faces shock and sorrow. He fought the good fight. He kept the faith. He was a friend of man.

His death was a terrible loss to our Nation, but his life was an inspiration to all.

Surely one of the most moving and beautiful tributes to Robert Kennedy was spoken at his funeral service in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, by his younger brother, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, when he said,

My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are, and ask why, I dream things that never were, and say why not."

Mr. Speaker, I include in the Congressional Record at this point the full text of Senator Edward Kennedy's eulogy to his brother; to be followed by the stirring tribute of Archbishop Terence J. Cooke, of New York, to the memory of Robert Kennedy—also given during the funeral at St. Patrick's Cathedral:

TEXT OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY'S TRIBUTE IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL TO HIS BROTHER, SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

On behalf of Mrs. Robert Kennedy, her children and the parents and sisters of Robert Kennedy, I want to express what we feel to those who mourn with us today in this cathedral and around the world.

We loved him as a brother and father and son. From his parents, and from his older brothers and sisters—Joe, Kathleen and Jack—he received inspira-

tion which he passed on to all of us. He gave us strength in time of trouble, wisdom in time of uncertainty, and sharing in time of happiness. He was always by our side.

Love is not an easy feeling to put into words. Nor is loyalty, or trust or joy. But he was all of these. He loved life completely and lived it intensely.

A few years back, Robert Kennedy wrote some words about his own father and they expressed the way we in his family feel about him. He said of what his father meant to him:

"What it really all adds up to is love—not love as it is described with much facility in popular magazines, but the kind of love that is affection and respect, order, encouragement, and support. Our awareness of this was an incalculable source of strength, and because real love is something unselfish and involves sacrifices and giving, we could not help but profit from it.

"Beneath it all, he has tried to engender a social conscience. There were wrongs which needed attention. There were people who were poor and who needed help. And we have a responsibility to them and to this country. Through no virtues and accomplishments of our own, we have been fortunate enough to be born in the United States under the most comfortable conditions. We, therefore, have a responsibility to others who are less well off."

This is what Robert Kennedy was given. What he leaves us is what he said, what he did, and what he stood for. A speech he made to the young people of South Africa on their Day of Affirmation in 1966 sums it up the best, and I would read it now:

"There is a discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; and millions are trapped in poverty while the nation, grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

"Our answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that comes with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and his generation at home and around the

world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant Reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples, build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves, on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason, and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American society.

"Our future may lie beyond our vision, but is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

This is the way he lived. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in

life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are and say why.

I dream things that never were and say why not."

EULOGY DELIVERED BY ARCHBISHOP TERENCE J. COOKE AT THE FUNERAL OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY AT ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL

"For those who have been faithful all the way, life is not ended but merely changed. And when this earthly abode dissolves, an eternal dwelling place awaits them in Heaven."

These words are taken from the preface of the funeral liturgy we are offering together, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Mr. President, my dear brothers and sisters. Even as we dwell with sorrow on the tragic death of Robert Francis Kennedy, we know that in justice to him we should meditate on his life, on the destiny to which he was called, and on the depths of conscience with which he responded to that call.

Our scriptures impress on us from their earliest pages that every believer is challenged by God's call to life and to work—to life and to work connected with the Lord's destiny for all his people.

Whether the call comes vividly and dramatically as it did to Abraham, to Moses, to Isaiah, and to Paul, or quietly and at first almost tentatively, for every man this awareness of a God-given mission stirs the deepest sense of moral responsibility and makes each person different, not merely in some external way but in his inmost being.

OPENNESS OF RESPONSE

It is in fact in the openness of his response to the divine call that we ultimately discover the true man and the true believer.

Forty-two years ago God called Robert Kennedy to life. And through the years of his life he responded to that call with generosity and a sense of purpose few of us achieve.

Gifted by nature to rare degree, he might have sought a life less arduous, a manner of life that left more time for personal interests, and for the enjoyment of the wonderful family with which God blessed him.

Instead, he chose the broader, more demanding challenge of public service, seeing it as an opportunity to build a better world for all his fellow men. He died in the course of that service.

Today in simple realism, we salute the sense of purpose which gave direction to Robert Kennedy's life. We salute the sacrifice which answering the call demanded of him each day.

Who would not admire his youthfulness, so eager and vibrant that young people yearn to follow him; his

sense of mission that impelled him to be his brother's keeper; his faith in God that kept him close to the religion of his childhood.

He was a man of faith. Faith in God first of all, but faith also in the basic goodness of his fellow men and faith in the future of his country.

BUOYANT CONFIDENCE

We admire the buoyant confidence that kept him moving forward; the awareness of a great job to be done, and the drive to do it.

We admire his love for America, for all her people, especially for poor and disadvantaged. We admire his keen sense of brotherhood that reached out to men of every nation, religion, and race.

We admire the ability to identify so that Negro people spoke of him as one of ours. We admire his vision in confronting the problems of poverty and civil rights.

He also had a dream. The dream of an America purged of prejudice, assuring freedom for all her citizens, a land of truly equal opportunity.

He pursued that dream with even greater courage and enthusiasm than when he climbed mountains and forded streams. We admire him because his life offers an outstanding example of family virtue and family solidarity.

He was, however busy, however occupied, a devoted husband and a loving father. We are all together in our bewilderment and grief. In vain, we search for words to comfort his heartbroken mother and father, his dear wife and children, his beloved brother and sisters, and those whom marriage has made members of his extraordinary family.

Words are inadequate messengers of consolation at this time. We stand beside in deep and respectful sympathy praying that God will strengthen them to bear their painful burden of sorrow.

Our sense of shame and discouragement tears alone will not wash away. Somehow by the grace of God, and with the strength that still lies deep within the soul of America, we must find the courage to take up again the laborious work to which Senator Kennedy devoted all his energies, the building of a great and honorable nation.

Especially in this hour we must keep faith with America and her destiny and we must not forsake our trust in one another.

President Johnson offered this Nation wise counsel when he pointed out that 200 million Americans did not fire the shot that ended Senator Kennedy's life. The act of one man must not demoralize and incapacitate 200 million others.

To permit this to happen would be to fail utterly in grasping the message of hope and optimism in Senator Kennedy's life. We have always believed in our national destiny marked by unity in lofty ideals.

We believe that our country came into existence to secure the blessings of freedom, equality, and peace for ourselves and those who will come after us.

A CALL FOR UNITY

We have always believed that national unity is indispensable if these blessings are to be achieved and that an America divided in its ideals cannot survive.

We mourn Robert Kennedy and we know that America shall miss him. But let us not miss the meaning of his life. We, too, must live in faith. We must respond to God's call. We must answer our neighbor's call for true freedom and equality.

Our response will be made in loving God and loving our neighbor, in proving our love by service, in serving by confronting and resolving problems of poverty, race, violence and war.

For Senator Kennedy there shall be no more mourning and no more sorrow, and death shall be no more. In the words of today's preface: "For those who have been faithful, O Lord, life is not ended but merely changed, and when this earthly abode dissolves, an eternal dwelling place awaits them in Heaven."

In death Robert Francis Kennedy has joined the immortals of America and will be remembered with honor wherever the history of our Nation is recorded. May he be joined also with those immortals from every land and nation who live forever with God in Heaven.

For God has called him once again,
God has called him home.

Hon. Hastings Keith OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy meant far more to me than a manifestation of a rising trend toward violence or the loss of one of our outstanding young leaders. For Robert F. Kennedy was in many respects a Cape Codder—he and I shared many common interests.

Many years ago, when I was in the Massachusetts State Senate, we were all invited to Hyannis Port for a rugged game of touch football and a liberal portion of Kennedy hospitality. Robert Kennedy went after that football as he went after every goal in his life—with enthusiasm, unflagging efforts, and a determined resolve not to rest until he had achieved his aim. He scaled mountain peaks, rode roaring rapids in flimsy boats, and manned the helm of a sailboat with the same dauntless courage and energy with which he set after the highest office in this country. Whatever one thought of Robert Kennedy's political philosophy, one could not help admiring the purposeful way in which he set out to realize that philosophy.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Cape Cod are proud to share the unique qualities of that narrow and lovely land with the Kennedys. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, though not exactly constituents, spend a great deal of their time on the

Cape. Thus, the slaying of their son was a particular blow to me and to my constituents—a neighbor, not a presidential candidate, not a Democrat, has been shot down in cold blood—and the Kennedy family has suffered one more tragedy.

Justice Holmes once said:

As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of that time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Robert F. Kennedy lived the action and passion of our time. He died in action—son, brother, father, friend; in each role he had one goal—excellence—the pursuit of which was his measure as a man. His total commitment to his Nation's service, and that of the Kennedy family, calls to mind these words of Theodore Roosevelt:

Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.

Much, of course, has been written and said of the man and of his accomplishments, of his dreams for America and for the world, of his ideals which inspired him to greatness and inspired those who knew and worked with him. He sought perfection in an imperfect humanity, and the irony of his death—that he should have died by violence while struggling for peace and harmony—leaves us, even though we may differ on political philosophy, with a great sense of urgency to complete the tasks for which he gave his life.

The many causes he chose to champion—equality and dignity of all mankind, peace at home as well as abroad, erasure of the barriers of sickness and of poverty—these are goals he spent his life pursuing. He was, in many ways, a herald of the future who had the courage to express his views long before they were popular—not because of the added attention which might have accrued to him personally, but because he totally believed in what he said, and was willing to put himself on the line for those beliefs. As a Republican, I did not, of course, always agree with what he said, but I was always sure that it was said with sincere conviction and only after careful study.

The Kennedy family has once again demonstrated its inner spirit of understanding, selflessness, and strength in the face of almost unbearable tragedy. Senator Ted Kennedy moved the

Nation when he spoke not in bitterness, not in hate, but with a deep understanding of the sickness that perverted the assassin's mind and took his brother's life. Ethel Kennedy cheered the thousands of mourners on the train from New York to Washington, going from car to car to speak comforting words to grieving friends who could not help but be inspired by her outward calm and thoughtfulness toward others. The Kennedy's merit not only our heartfelt sympathy but also our respect and admiration for their courageous acceptance of tragedy and firm refusal to give in to feelings of hatred and despair.

Mr. Speaker, there is, therefore, a lesson for all of us in the courage and character of the Kennedy family in its time of trial. They, as individuals and as Americans, have reacted with great dignity and have found the inner strength to cope with the crises in their lives. Let us hope that we, as a nation and as individuals, will have similar courage and character to cope with the crises that lie ahead of us.

Hon. James A. Burke OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, it is with deepest regret that I do stand here at this time to extend my sympathies to the family, to the Members of Congress, and to the people of our Nation and the world in memory of a young man who once stood beside us in our struggle for a better world. Robert Francis Kennedy devoted all his energies and talents, which were indeed many, to a cause in which he believed so passionately: the American spirit. He spoke for all of us in his dedication to the plights of the less fortunate, the underprivileged, the elderly, and most of all, the inheritors—our youth. He not only spoke for them but he understood them with a compassion that inspired others to emulate his determination and realize his visions. He pursued life just as he pursued his daily responsibilities, with an advocacy and ease that provoked the highest of emotions in all he touched.

He lived the words of the late Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, in his service to his country as Attorney General and U.S. Senator, and particularly in his endeavor to seek the newer world he saw for all:

You dare your yes and experience a meaning—you repeat your yes and all things acquire a meaning—when everything has meaning how can you live anything but a yes?

Robert Kennedy, wearing the mantle left by his brother, the late, beloved President John F. Kennedy, embarked on a journey to the White House and was the choice of many Americans, only to be slain in a moment of glory.

The destiny that followed Robert Kennedy was an amalgam of powerful forces, internal and external, that propelled him onto the center stage of the world. One internal force was a human wish to assure the Nation that his brother had not died in vain. His greatest external drive was an innate need to aid America's "other" society. Time after time in his legislative career he supported measures aimed at helping people less fortunate than he.

The legislative body of the Federal Government lost a man with a unique talent, priceless experience, and unbelievable energy. The people who have spoken earlier from his own State of New York, those who knew him best, have set forth for all time the outstanding characteristics of Robert Kennedy.

I would like to add a comment or two from my own personal experience. He was one of the hardest working men I have ever known. He labored with dedication, devotion, and with a passion, on the ramparts of individual freedom, honesty, and constitutional government. His vast knowledge of parliamentary law, his deep understanding of our democratic process, together with his unimpeachable character, were the characteristics I admired most in our departed colleague.

I am at a loss to find words adequate to express my true feelings. Robert Kennedy gave the best of his years and his most sincere efforts in making this country and the world a better place in which to live. He died too soon, victim of an unjust grievance—susceptible to the very conditions he sought to ameliorate. It is particularly hard to imagine one so vital and diligent no longer working; one so compassionate and forceful no longer present; one so dear and deserving no longer alive. He loved the words of Thoreau and took solace in their message in his journey which brought him the ultimate of satisfaction and the ultimate of sacrifices:

If a man does not keep pace with his companions perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him keep step with the music which he hears, however measured or far away.

Robert Francis Kennedy was a good and sensitive man. He would have wanted us to remember not what he did but what he tried to do: To hold fast to his convictions and work for their fulfillment. The loss is all of ours, but also is the challenge.

Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, phrased the Nation's sentiments when he spoke at the statehouse in Boston at a memorial service for Senator Kennedy on June 10, 1968:

We must pledge ourselves to walk every mile, bear every burden, make every sacrifice to make his dream come true. * * * Make certain he did not die in vain.

Hon. William T. Murphy OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the shock and sorrow which the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has brought to the Nation cannot be expressed in words. A life so full of brilliance, courage, strength, and promise had to end in this tragic manner.

Robert Kennedy was a man of his age, an eloquent spokesman who was concerned with history and posterity. Born of wealth, he might have chosen a life of ease, instead he chose a career of public service predicated upon the choice of the electorate and a life filled with service to the cause of democracy and our country. In his every action he reflected credit upon the office which he held.

Robert Kennedy did live for his country. We are all richer for the experience of having known him. Senator Robert Kennedy has been brutally removed from us, and our highest tribute to him will be to carry on as he would have done, resolutely, firmly, and with distinction.

The human response to this tragic death clearly indicates that history will record Robert F. Kennedy as a great American and as one of our greatest statesmen.

May God keep him, and give solace and comfort to his courageous wife, his lovely children, and his devoted family.

Hon. Robert O. Tiernan
OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. Speaker, "He was 42 years old."

With these stark and simple words, Frank Mankiewicz told a stunned world that our friend was no more.

Kind and loving father, devoted husband, compassionate son, courageous brother, Robert Francis Kennedy was all of these.

He lived in a shadow of tragedy which became his in the end.

With a strong faith in the goodness of God and man, he gave us a life that had great meaning and purpose.

A Nation free of hatred and fear, bigotry and injustice, poverty and despair was his continual quest.

Less than a year ago he said:

We must reject absolutely the leadership of fear, the cries of those who find repression more congenial than justice, and anger more popular than compassion. Let them go their way, it is not ours.

He was a man of commitment open to new experiences and new ideas. His goal of a better America for all enriched his capacity for leadership.

For those of us who cared about him, for those of us who shared his dream, we would do well to recall the words of Tennyson:

"Come my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a new world."

Hon. F. Bradford Morse
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, words are sorrowfully inadequate to express the grief that has been felt at the death of Senator Robert Kennedy, and the utter frustration that this courageous and talented man could be taken from us in such a cruel and cowardly way.

His career and his personal goals symbolize his dedication to the national life of this country and his belief in the dreams that made this land. He had the broadness of view and the imagination to be concerned with the course of America and the future of the world, yet also had the compassion and humanism to be deeply involved in securing the welfare and dignity of

every individual. He was not afraid of the future, nor of new ideas, nor of facing vast problems in the context of today's world, and thus he was able to think creatively and act with a sense of urgency and yet with great vision.

He died, as did his brother, for the majestic ideals which have given impulse to the American dream from the very beginning of this Nation. We must not close our eyes and our minds under the burden of this profound shock of this terrible tragedy. We cannot allow his death to be separated from what he died for. It must serve if we are to truly honor him, to affirm rather than deny the rights of man and the basic reason for this Nation.

The dark shadow cast over our land can be lifted only if we who are blessed with life work to insure that those ideals will one day be achieved. The Congress must act, as must the entire Nation, with idealism and a deep sense of social responsibility. This kind of contribution, and our success in letting every American share in the American dream, will be the greatest tribute possible.

Hon. John M. Slack, Jr.
OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker—

I am concerned about the children.

—ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Many words more eloquent than mine will be spoken of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and the farther the wheel of time revolves beyond the tragic day and manner of his passing, the more easily we will be able to discern the several legacies he bequeathed to improve conditions for the people of his native land.

I am compelled to speak of one such legacy, because I have close personal knowledge of its meaning and impact, and because it typifies the man who said so often, in connection with so many public problems, the words: "I am concerned about the children."

My own congressional district, which I have served since the 86th Congress convened, has sections which have received national attention because of the effects of technological unemployment in the coal fields on human beings, on family structure, on the lives and prospects of the young.

In 1961 it began to be apparent that the children of long-term unemployed miners were losing all incentive to self-improvement, were becoming school dropouts, and far too often were turning to juvenile crime as a substitute for formal education and career development.

In April 1962 there was formed a nonprofit organization by a group of public officials and civic leaders which undertook the task of sounding the depth of this problem and recommending programs to counteract the trends which existed. This body was called Charleston Youth Community, Inc., and its first modest funding came from both public and private donors.

In 1961 the Congress had passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act to establish a means of inquiring into juvenile delinquency and youth crime. Administration of the act was placed in the hands of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, whose Chairman was U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

The Charleston Youth Community group requested grant funds from this program to finance research into the causes of youth crime in rural areas with high unemployment rates. On October 1, 1962, the Attorney General approved a grant of \$131,091 in Federal funds to support the Charleston group's research.

There followed 16 months of intense research and meticulous planning. By September 1963 the findings of the Charleston group had become recognized as a key element in the "counterattack on delinquency" formally announced as an objective of the Attorney General's office. The findings were so uniform, and the implications so startling, that it became apparent at once that whatever the motivations for juvenile delinquency and youth crime in Kanawha County, W. Va., it must be expected that they would be supplicated throughout the rural Appalachian South wherever hardcore unemployment had caused family structure and home supervision to weaken.

In December 1963 the Charleston Youth Community received a grant of \$1 million to train over 800 unemployed youths between the ages of 16 and 21 in marketable skills. The Charleston group was reorganized and became officially titled Action for Appalachian Youth.

Then on February 4, 1964, Attorney General Kennedy announced a grant of \$12 million to

finance a 3-year program in the Charleston area designed to expand opportunities for youth in poverty-stricken communities. These funds were supplemented by donations and grants from State and local bodies, businessmen and private citizens.

This was the great breakthrough. From that day forward no young person in the area was without a place to go for help in overcoming a problem involving his education or preparation for productive work, simply because his family was poor and his father had been unemployed for several years. A workable blueprint for the youth of all of Appalachia's depressed rural areas had been developed.

On April 28, 1964, it was my privilege to join the Attorney General on a quick trip to the area to review progress and get an on-the-scene reaction to developments. Among other things, he visited a community where 95 percent of the children were school dropouts, simply because they could not afford to go to school—they lacked clothing, or transportation, or the price of a lunch.

Robert F. Kennedy was appalled by these conditions, but heartened by the progress underway. A few days after our trip, he wrote me that he was gratified that the program was going well.

I will not go into further details, other than to say that what was done through the decisive action of Robert F. Kennedy in those years has since brought to public use a wealth of information and experience to the public benefit about a problem concerning which we knew almost nothing before. I have spoken at this length because I want it said, by my personal testimony for the record, that he was a man who did things, and did them because he believed in them, and in the need to try new paths toward the solution of old problems.

Robert F. Kennedy has passed from among us. We have mourned his passing and we are without words to express our shock at the manner of his passing. But for those who loved him, for his wife and family, and particularly for his own fatherless brood of children, I could not stand in silence without reporting to you this summary of a particular series of his deeds which will result in the rehabilitation of thousands of young Americans for many years into the far future.

No American in public life will ever earn a

finer epitaph than his own repeated expression of troubled anxiety: "I am concerned about the children."

Hon. John C. Kluczynski
OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, it is hard to find the right words this afternoon, partly because words seem too inadequate a way to express the grief and the compassion we have all felt in these last weeks. Words are surely inadequate to explain the almost universal hope that we can somehow change for the better whatever it is in the emotional climate of our national life that sets the scene for the taking of lives that have so much to offer us.

Many people more skilled with words than I have spoken about Robert Kennedy, and that is good, because I think it is important for us to understand and appreciate the man and the principles he believed in and the goals he worked so hard to achieve.

The one thing I think I would like to say, since I believe I can find the words for this, if not for the deeper emotions, is that Robert Kennedy was what he was by choice, and by that fact alone he earned the respect of all of us. It was not necessary, after all, that he or his brothers undertake the always difficult and often personally painful profession of national politics. By the good fortune of being their father's sons, they might have chosen, on the one hand, a life of ease, or on the other, the exercise of power from behind the scenes, secure from the pressures, the struggles, and the arrows that are inherent in our competitive public political system.

But Robert Kennedy, like his brothers, chose the harder, open road. His influence on the people of this country and on the course of the Nation's policies was great, but I think perhaps the finest lesson our people, and especially our young people, will learn from his life is that he was willing to work for his country. I think it was probably that willingness that was responsible for his appeal to our young people, because I think our young people both need and want the kind of leadership that says, as I think Robert Kennedy was trying to say, that opportunity must be available to everyone, but when the opportunity is there, then each of us must be prepared to

pull his own share of the load, to work to make his own way and to make his country better.

Robert Kennedy will be remembered for many things, and I think one of the most important of those things will be not so much that the life he lived was "above and beyond the call of duty," but that he regarded the opportunity to live as a privilege that required that he respond by working for what he believed in.

Hon. Joe L. Evins
OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with remarks by colleagues who are today paying tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York, whose untimely death shocked our Nation. Senator Kennedy was a very capable and energetic legislator and Government official. He had great courage and served his Nation with distinction.

I had the pleasure and honor of serving with his late brother, President John F. Kennedy, in the House. I did not know Senator Robert Kennedy as well as I knew the late President.

Certainly Senator Kennedy's death is to be deplored as an almost unbelievable tragedy, and in this connection I want to extend my deepest and most sincere sympathy to Senator Kennedy's wife and family in their loss and bereavement.

Hon. Thomas N. Downing
OF VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, the beloved poet and priest, John Donne, expressed many thoughts so beautifully and appropriately. Our century continues to find an ever-increasing meaning in "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." When the bell sounded for Robert Francis Kennedy, it brought a measure of death to each of us because his triumph was America's and so was his tragedy. We are all involved in mankind.

According to an old Hebrew tradition the living believe that those who die will beg for us in the hereafter. Accordingly, they pray, "May his memory be for a blessing." Robert Francis Kennedy begged for us during his life on earth,

and it will always be in our prayers that he might be able to continue his efforts for mankind.

May his memory be for a blessing.

Hon. William D. Hathaway

OF MAINE

Mr. Speaker, Robert Kennedy was a man of courage, a man of insight, a man of passion, a man of humor, a man who richly blessed me with his friendship.

His life was meaningful—his death an enigma. But, let us hope his brutal demise will serve as a catalyst to bring about a meaningful end to social inequities and disorder.

Hon. George H. Fallon

OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, Senator Robert Francis Kennedy's brief 42 years represented so full a life, so intense a life, that his senseless assassination is the harder for us to bear. Robert F. Kennedy was a controversial figure, a devoted man, a man who lived life to the fullest, and a man who put all his great energy and ability into the tasks to which he addressed himself.

He wanted to make the best of himself; he wanted the opportunity to leave his mark on history. If Robert F. Kennedy was ambitious, he was ambitious for his country. He believed in the United States of America, and he believed it could be a greater Nation, a land of brotherhood and health and happiness. He dedicated himself to these beliefs. He was stopped in the midst of his pursuit of a newer and better world. The senseless act which took his life was a brutal crime to all of society.

Robert F. Kennedy offered hope to disillusioned people in a time of heartache and bewilderment. A wealthy man, with a large and wonderful family of his own, he did not shrug off responsibilities of leadership. It would have been easy for him to turn away from the public service, especially after the death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy. But Robert F. Kennedy did not turn away from his Nation. He continued to fight to make it better. There is honor in that.

Millions of Americans mourn the death of the late Senator. As has happened far too often in the last 5 years, Americans were again united in grief at the passing of a vibrant, devoted, and determined man. They prayed, grieved, and waited hours to pass his bier. Some asked why, and others did not ask, because they had asked the question too many times before without finding any answer.

Mrs. Fallon and I extend our sympathy and prayers to Senator Kennedy's wife, Ethel, to their 10 children, and to their unborn. We also send our prayers to Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy and to the brother and sisters of the late Senator.

Let us remember Robert Francis Kennedy as his brother, Ted, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, asked us to remember him when he said, on that sad day in St. Patrick's Cathedral:

My brother need not be idealized or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life (but) to be remembered simply as a good and decent man.

I mourn the death of this good and decent man, this devoted husband and kind father, this dedicated leader.

Hon. James C. Corman

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, only 3 weeks ago I spoke briefly in the House deploring the attempted assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and expressed hope for his recovery. The next day I sadly spoke again to voice my grief at his untimely death. Today, I join my colleagues in a last tribute to him.

Assassination of public leaders in recent years has come too often for us not to be outraged at the forces that provoke them. I do not believe in mass guilt because of a heinous deed of any one man, but I do believe that we have come to a point where there must be a national dedication to destroy the forces that divide us—the hate, the fear, the bigotry, the violence—all the evils that tend to pit American against American—the evils that set the stage for the perpetration of lawlessness and criminal acts.

Robert Kennedy was a man who believed with unequivocal dedication that America must find a way to eliminate these divisive forces, that a

way must be found toward racial justice, toward equal opportunity for each and every citizen. He believed firmly and sincerely that every American must have a chance to live his life in dignity and in freedom from fear and from want.

Robert Kennedy during his life pleaded for unity and compassion in this land; for justice and for progress; for an America in which our children, our grandchildren, and generations yet to come could live in peace, in hope, and at ease with one another.

What greater tribute can we in this House pay to his memory than to dedicate ourselves to the task of building the America he envisioned? He was but one man who had great love for his country and for the people in it. Many of us—most of us—share in such a love. But Robert Kennedy also had a vision. And when he spoke, so often, the words I quote below, he left to us a legacy that I hope will guide us in our dedication to the principles and purposes for which he lived:

Some men see things as they are and say why; I dream things that never were and say why not.

Hon. Richard H. Fulton

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, in the few but long days which have passed since the tragic murder of Senator Kennedy, many of us have had an opportunity to measure the full impact of his passing and the loss to our Nation.

The act of assassination itself was another dark page in the chapter of violence which has figured so prominently from time to time in our Nation's history.

Though this history is overflowing with chapters of growth and achievement, yet there are other dark passages which, though written in the past, remain to haunt us today.

It was to these dark passages and the task of setting right the errors and inequities of the past that Robert Kennedy had set the compass of his political course.

He was a beacon whose light shown toward a future of equality and opportunity which this country has yet to experience. His light was fueled by dreams for he was a man who dared

to dream the dream that never was and ask "Why not?"

Now that light has been extinguished. But the dream remains in the hearts and determination of millions of Americans. It is an honorable dream and worthy of pursuit.

Robert Kennedy's time among us has ended, but the afterglow of his torch will remain to kindle the hearts and spirits of others who wish to travel that difficult and often dangerous course to the fulfillment of our American dream.

Hon. Samuel N. Friedel

OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, it is with a sad and heavy heart that I now join my colleagues in the Congress in paying tribute to a truly great American—the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Words are totally inadequate to express our great shock and grief at his assassination by a fanatic. His death is not only a tragic loss to his devoted family, but to our Nation and the world. It was because of his love for his fellow man and his desire to have actual physical contact with great masses of people that exposed him to the hand of his assassin.

Robert Kennedy's presence in a crowd had an almost electrical effect because people sensed his devotion to their cause. He stirred them and the crowd responded to his emotions for he felt that the very purpose of government was to act in the best interest of all the people.

To those who did not know the junior Senator from New York, he seemed to some persons rather cold and forbidding. Actually, however, he was kind and possessed a great degree of gallantry and even tenderness and generosity as can be gathered from some of the words he spoke before his brilliant career was abruptly cut short by an assassin's bullet. I refer to his statement that:

We are a great country. We are an unselfish people. We are a compassionate country.

The United States is truly blessed, not only with material wealth, but also with great men. Such a man was Robert F. Kennedy, who, like his brother before him, the late, beloved John F. Kennedy, who rose to the Presidency of our Nation, also gave his life for his fellow man.

The record of solid accomplishments, the offices and posts he so ably filled, are too well known to be repeated again. He also made a great name for himself by his writings. "The Enemy Within," "Just Friends and Brave Enemies," "Pursuit of Justice," and "To Seek a Newer World" are works that will be referred to for years to come.

Even those who disagreed with some of his views expressed admiration for his intellectual stature, his great courage, and his dedication to duty and public service. That he was an able lawyer, everyone must admit; that he was a statesman, few will deny; that he was a great American, all must agree. We mourn this irreparable loss and will sorely miss his wise counsel and dynamic personality. He, like his famous brother, will live in our hearts forever.

The most meaningful monument we can erect to the late Robert F. Kennedy would be for the Congress to enact measures to give the executive branch of our Government the necessary and effective tools to combat ever-increasing crime and violence that strikes terror in the hearts of our people and to assist the Government in bringing about peace to a troubled world. So, let us resolve to first achieve national unity and again become a law-abiding people. This was the goal of the man whose life and work we now memorialize, so let it also be our own.

To Senator Kennedy's wife and children, as well as the other devoted members of his family, I extend heartfelt condolences in their great loss. Our country has also lost the great contributions a devoted and courageous public servant would have continued to make for the betterment of mankind.

Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, in a land which cherishes the right of free speech, it is tragic indeed to have a public servant shot down as he presses his views while voluntarily seeking a new place of civic leadership.

The late Robert F. Kennedy was a man of vigor, who was churning with desire to deal with the problems of our Nation and our people.

He was impatient with those who chose to dawdle, with those who chose to put things off

for another day, with those who chose to stall in order to first obtain a consensus.

He was fearless. He was compassionate—ironically in direct contrast to the conception many people had of him. He was dedicated. He was realistic.

My sorrow is deep that this fine young man should be taken from us at the hands of an assassin.

I was very proud to call Senator Kennedy my personal friend. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to know and to work with him.

My home city of Buffalo, N.Y., came to know and to love Senator Kennedy, through his frequent visits to our area and his constant efforts to help our area deal with its many problems.

One of his most recent visits to Buffalo was last winter, when I had the opportunity to accompany him part of the day. Everywhere we went, the hands of our people went out in admiration and love for our U.S. Senator.

When he met with students and faculty at the State university at Buffalo Law School, he discussed ways to stem the tide of lawlessness. His perception of the national problem was clear, as he offered a three-point plan:

First. Full citizen participation to make our law enforcement agencies as modern and effective as possible.

Second. Broadening of police work, especially in high-crime, low-income communities to turn the police into the natural allies of those seeking better lives.

Third. An effort to free the police from burdens which can best be treated outside the criminal process—drug addiction and alcoholism.

Although Senator Kennedy came from a family of wealth, he was among the best informed anywhere on the problems of the unemployed, the underemployed, the underprivileged, the poor, the disenfranchised.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was a man of many fine qualities, who was determined to find solutions to the problems of our Nation and to make it a still better place for all of us to live.

His leadership and his inspiration will be sorely missed, as those of us who remain behind strive to deal with the problems facing our people.

My sincere sympathy goes out to his wonderful family: To his devoted wife Ethel and the

children, to his brother and sisters, and to his mother and father.

They have lost a husband, father, brother, and son. We have lost a great friend, a respected colleague, and a dedicated public servant.

Mr. Speaker, the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News carried a perceptive article on Senator Kennedy in its June 8 edition, as follows:

ROBERT KENNEDY—"FOR HIM THE PENDULUM SWUNG WIDER"

WASHINGTON.—Robert Francis Kennedy always deserved to be more admired than hated, for he, more than any other Kennedy, has been the perfect Irish-American, a gut fighter with brains and a heart that could truly bleed for a cause.

These are the qualities Americans are supposed to most admire in their big-name politicians. Bobby's trouble has been that his real self never came through absolutely clear because of the facade of a personality easy to caricature and because of the strange complexities of his inborn character.

He, thus, in the campaign, either antagonized and disturbed people, or magnetized and aroused them. There never was any middle ground—voters were either firmly for or against. This, incidentally, has historically been true of all great leaders, in political causes or on the battlefields. It is the origin of the old cliché that the enemies a man makes reflect best his stature.

The tragedy is that it took an assassin's bullet to make a great many take a clear and sympathetic look, not a jaundiced look.

Consider, for example, how he differed markedly from his two brothers, the assassinated John F. Kennedy and the younger Ted. In any comparison, he lacks the handsome image of either, but has a fighting quality unequalled by the others. He could hate. He was more ruthless in seeking political advantage. He also was an idealist, a dreamer, a poet at heart and it is high time that the nation appreciated his sincerity of purpose on the issue of our underprivileged citizens.

He really and truly thought that the country had been going to the devil under L.B.J. And agree with him or not on the Vietnam war issue, he believed what he said and had not simply latched on to an issue in order to help him get to the White House.

This is not a maudlin assessment. Neither does it overlook his selfish grasp of the political ladder, his effort this year to push Eugene McCarthy off.

Even his best friends admit that he was on occasion abrasive, petty, and morose, but often just the opposite—jocular, warmhearted, and magnanimous. Larry O'Brien, his key campaign operator, once said of Bobby:

"The pendulum just swings wider for him than it does for most people."

Perhaps the truest insight into Bobby Kennedy, the man and his mind, has been provided by almost unnoticed off-the-cuff remarks he made to a Negro audience the night of April 4 in Indianapolis.

"I have bad news for you, for all of our fellow citizens all over the world, and that is that Martin Luther King

was shot and killed tonight," he said. "Martin Luther King dedicated his life to love and to justice for his fellow human beings and he died because of that effort."

Then Kennedy spoke from his heart, his eloquent spontaneous phrases bringing out into the open the unselfish wellsprings of his political character.

"For those of you who are black and are tempted to be filled with hatred and distrust at the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I can only say that I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man. But we have to make an effort in the United States, we have to make an effort to understand, to go beyond these rather difficult times.

"My favorite poet was Aeschylus. He wrote: 'Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget fall drop by drop upon the heart, until, in our despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God.'

"What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love, and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country whether they be white or whether they be black."

The final two sentences of that Kennedy speech were most fitting on that April night and they are equally fitting in these days of despair.

"Let us dedicate ourselves," pleaded the young Senator, "to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: To tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and for our people."

That is what the man said—that ruthless political character, the "opportunist" with a strange hair style!

Mr. Speaker, following are the texts of editorials in two daily and one weekly newspaper in Buffalo:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, June 6, 1968]

MARTYRED SENATOR

The worst has happened and Senator Robert F. Kennedy has died just as his brother did—violently, outrageously, of an assassin's bullet to the brain.

In one sense, this terrible death of the younger brother is even sadder than the other, for at least Jack Kennedy had attained the pinnacle of the presidency, but Bobby's life was all a preparation.

In the deeply personal sense, too, this murder in Los Angeles does not just reenact the horror of Dallas but compounds its impact. To all the Kennedys who have borne so greatly the suffering of past tragedies, this must be the blow that carries such suffering almost beyond human bearing. And how little a whole nation's outpouring of sympathy can do to assuage the grief of Senator Kennedy's amazingly wholesome immediate family of 10 children and the gallant wife who even now awaits the 11th.

Whether this remarkable young man really was on the road to the White House is something that no one now can ever know, and that itself is a part of this tragedy—the shattering abruptness with which it terminated a

career so obviously unfulfilled and yet so surging with a sense of destiny.

It is difficult in this day of his death even to think of Robert Kennedy as "our" Senator, for so plainly were his dimensions and interests national in scope that New York's claim upon him seems scarcely more than incidental. Nor will the senatorial phase of his foreshortened career be what is remembered about him. What will linger, rather, is a certain driving, haunting, conscience-pricking, sometimes even mystical quality about his whole dynamic personality.

To many, there was an abrasiveness about the younger Kennedy that made him a far more controversial figure than the brother he idolized. And yet there were other qualities in Bobby that might have brought him to an even greater eventual fulfillment.

One was that rare rapport he had with young people and another was his tremendous capacity for intellectual and emotional growth, as witness his deepening concern for the least affluent among us. He was one person over 30 whom the youth of America did seem to trust, and he was likewise one white American whom the Negroes came to trust. This last was a particular tribute to his growth for he conspicuously lacked that kind of rapport in his first brushes with the civil rights movement as attorney general.

It is just that capacity for an ever-deepening sense of moral involvement, for a steadily sharpened sensitivity to people and issues prompted one of his Senate friends, George McGovern of South Dakota, to say of Robert Kennedy not long ago that he has "the absolute personal honesty of Woodrow Wilson, the stirring passion for leadership of Andrew Jackson, and the profound acquaintance with personal tragedy of Abraham Lincoln." He would bring to the presidency a "deeper measure of experience" than J.F.K. did, and "a more profound capacity to lead our troubled land into the light of a new day." In fact, said Senator McGovern, Robert Kennedy would have been "one of the three or four greatest Presidents in our national history."

Perhaps he would; but such is the tragedy of Los Angeles that no one now will ever know.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) *Courier-Express*, June 7, 1968]

NATION MOURNS DEATH OF KENNEDY

The assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy removes from the arena of American politics a brilliant, dynamic young legislator who contrasted sharply with the old line politicians who so long dominated the national scene. The seemingly indefatigable Senator met all challenges—whether it was the scaling of a mountain or rebutting questions put to him by anti-American students in Indonesia—with a zest and toughness that marked his character.

Senator Kennedy's style of campaigning, his stand on national and international issues and even the style of his hair aroused spontaneous controversy; he was the idol of millions of young Americans, many of whom had not yet reached voting age, and the anathema of many older and conservative citizens.

He displayed a fierce loyalty to his family, his friends and his country. During the more than three and a half years the late John F. Kennedy served as President, his younger brother stood devotedly in his shadow and ever ready to spring to the defense of his older brother whom he idolized. Following the President's assassination, Robert Kennedy entered the political waters on his own, charting a course which obviously he hoped would lead to the White House. His primary election victories in California, Indiana, Nebraska, and South Dakota indicated that he may have been on his way to reaching that goal in the November elections.

Although he was a member of an extremely wealthy family, virtually all of his efforts were directed toward lifting the burdens of the poor and the minority groups so that they might enjoy some measure of our national prosperity. In return these groups stanchly supported him and played a large part in his election successes.

While fortune smiled bountifully on the Kennedy family tragedy visited its members with an unsurpassed cruelty. It is the earnest prayer of good people everywhere that in the future fate will deal more kindly with a family whose cup too often has been filled with bitter grief.

[From the *Am-Pol Eagle*, Buffalo, N.Y., June 13, 1968]

ARE WE SECOND-RATE CITIZENS?

The United States, a nation founded upon the principles of brotherhood, has become of late an increasing victim of the forces of hatred, violence, murder, and brutality. The assassinations of three great men, President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, within the past 5 years points up the need for Americans to combat these forces.

Hatred and violence are acting like sandpaper, scraping away the very moral fiber that made America great. They are solving no problems, answering no questions.

By such acts the national image is becoming deeply tarnished abroad, its potential for good is being undermined and encouragement is being given to similar forces the world over.

A people cannot have violence in race relations, violence in the streets, and violence on the television and still expect to rule violence out of their lives.

"What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love, and wisdom, and compassion toward one another and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country."

This was the prescription offered by the latest victim of hatred and violence here in the United States, Robert F. Kennedy.

If we are to combat hatred and violence as major forces in our American way of life we must do two things. First of all we must have strong and effective legislation to control and limit the ownership and use of firearms. Secondly, it is up to every American to make an individual effort to replace hatred with love and violence with justice.

Hon. Joshua Eilberg
OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, for a few brief moments, as we measure time, we shared Robert Kennedy with his family and the Nation.

As a flaming meteor, he streaked across the political horizon, only to have his brilliance snuffed out before it could reach its destined potential.

Often that brilliance of his inner fire dazzled those of us who shared a political platform with him; seeing him pursue his career in the arena he had chosen for himself.

Only this past April I had such an opportunity, sharing with Robert Kennedy the head table when he came to Philadelphia to offer himself and his platform to the workers of his political party.

To say he faced a unanimous or homogenous audience would be an untruth; but no man will dispute me when I say that at that moment he captured the admiration of each man and woman as he projected that mystical power that he possessed.

He was that kind of man.

Without asking for it, he could command great loyalty and devotion. All spectrums of our social and economic orders clung to his banner, knowing Robert Kennedy was a man who understood them, loved them, and would devote his life to them.

He was also a man who could generate great controversy—but what great man in our history has not generated controversy.

We have lost a dear colleague. His family has lost a dear father, son, and brother. The Nation has lost a great statesman. We have shared Robert Kennedy with them; now we must share him with posterity.

May God grant peace to those who mourn him. May God grant Robert Kennedy eternal rest. Amen.

Hon. B. F. Sisk
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, many painful, grief-filled words have been spoken. Many volumes of purpose and rededication have been written in the past 2

weeks. Words now seem so hollow in expressing my thoughts and emotions.

Whether or not we agreed with Senator Robert F. Kennedy issue by issue, we all admired his ability, his compassion and genuine concern for people, and his deep commitment and sense of purpose in solving the problems of our Nation. He defined the issues as he saw them—discussed them freely—no matter how painful or unpopular they may have been to his listeners at the moment. His was a practical patriotism, born of hope and translated into action—action which often transcended any thought of his own political future.

Robert F. Kennedy, John F. Kennedy, two tragic endings in a family that has endured so much sorrow over the years. Our hearts reach out with the deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family. And we pray that their courage to continue, without remorse, to do the work that must be done, never losing faith in this Nation or its people, will be an inspiration to us all.

Hon. Leonard Farbstein
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, in his few brief years, Robert Kennedy gave to his country more fully than most men have an opportunity to give in far longer lives. At 42, he already had many years of important experience behind him. Yet Robert Kennedy, when he died, was only on the threshold of his career of public service. He was truly an extraordinary young man, a man of determination, of strong ideas, of great vision. Because he was such a decisive man, he stirred much controversy. He evoked deep emotions of love, as he did of hate, but few would question that he still had much to contribute to his country in wisdom and in dedication. Robert Kennedy understood that there was much wrong with his country; while not loving his country less for it, and because of this understanding, he was able to face these wrongs unflinchingly. He was a knight among bowmen, a man who enjoyed leading and who led fearlessly. His courage cost him his life. The United States of America has reason to be thankful for the contributions Robert Kennedy made in his few fleeting years, and to grieve for the great potential that was lost to it in his death.

Hon. James J. Delaney
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I share with other Members the deep sense of shock and profound sadness on the untimely and tragic death of our colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

A member of one of America's most talented and famous families, Bob Kennedy was born to wealth. He could have chosen to dissipate his money and talents by living a life of ease, but he chose to dedicate himself to the service of his fellow man and his Nation. He served ably as counsel for a committee in the other body, and later demonstrated an unusually keen insight into the many facets of American politics as he brilliantly led the successful presidential campaign for his late, beloved brother, John F. Kennedy. Subsequently, he was President Kennedy's close confidant and served with distinction as Attorney General of the United States. Later, our own State of New York was honored to have him as a Senator.

While some disagreed with his views from time to time, his dedication, determination, energy, and zest for life were admired by all. He fought honestly and vigorously for the principles to which he was deeply dedicated. He worked unstintingly and unselfishly in the service of his fellow man for whom he gave all he had—his life. We learn from the Bible that greater love than this no man has.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Ethel, his 10 children, and to other members of his family, and pray that God will sustain and comfort them in the trying days ahead.

Hon. Joseph G. Minish
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, it is with heavy heart that I rise to commend the distinguished gentlemen from Massachusetts (Mr. Boland) and New York (Mr. Carey) for their moving eulogies to Senator Robert Kennedy. Their eloquent words reflect the sentiments of all gathered in this chamber to honor the memory of a truly remarkable man.

The terrible tragedy of June 5 remains constant in our minds. There has been no diminution of the sense of horror and loss that enveloped

the House when tribute was paid to Senator Kennedy on June 6. As I said then, the outpouring of grief throughout the world at his death is a measure of the superb qualities with which Senator Kennedy was so abundantly endowed. He devoted his great talents, his enormous energy and drive, his vivid personality to the cause of social and economic justice for he believed—and acted upon that belief—that he was indeed his brother's keeper. He saw in every man—particularly the poor, the discriminated against, the imposed upon—his brother and he served humanity with the dedication with which he had served his own brother, the beloved President Kennedy.

As the Washington Post stated in its perceptive editorial on June 7, Robert Kennedy was "a force for change and movement and progress and for what he thought was good. And in these tormented times his country cannot afford the loss of such a force."

To us who have been given the time so cruelly and senselessly denied Robert Kennedy falls the obligation of using it with his sense of urgency, of responsiveness to the problems of a rapidly changing society, of compassion for the poor and alienated among us, of commitment to building the kind of Nation and world for which mankind yearns. Let us in this hour of sorrow redouble our own efforts to carry forward what Robert Kennedy stood for: hope and reconciliation and progress at home and peace among nations.

To his parents, wife, children, brother and sisters, who have been so edifying in their acceptance of this tragedy, I extend my heartfelt sympathy. Their loss is shared by all mankind.

Hon. George E. Brown, Jr.
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the tragic loss of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has affected the hearts and lives of our Nation, and the world. For the disaffected and the disenchanting everywhere, his person became a rallying symbol of hope for a better future. The young, the old, the outcast all found in him a new and progressive spirit, a voice articulating to the Nation their needs and their aspirations. With enthusiasm and sincere compassion he sought to aid the migrant farm workers, the Indians, and our other great minority

communities. With eloquence and fervor he called upon us all to pursue a course of decency and tolerance, an end to division, to hate, and to violence.

Senator Kennedy had an unshakable belief in the strength and vitality of America. He never lost his faith in her people or in her democratic processes. To have despaired for her future in this season of political crisis and unrest, or to have expressed sentiments of concern for the health of her society was not Senator Kennedy's way. In his dedication to public service and leadership, he strove for a world of greater humanity and justice. We are richer for his struggle.

His overriding ambition was to better America. In the world of politics, there can be no nobler ambition than this.

This is the legacy which he leaves behind to continue his fight for a better future, and to achieve it through constructive, political action. Just as Robert Kennedy summoned in his followers a rededication to these goals, so we must now all renew our dedication and our efforts toward peaceful progress.

I also join with my colleagues in extending fullest sympathy to his wife, children, and other members of his family.

Hon. Jacob H. Gilbert

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there are many men in this body more eloquent than I, but none, I think, can capture in words the grief of the Nation at the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. Senator Kennedy dedicated his life to his country. He was a man of profound talent and generosity. His idea of America was its people, white and black, from every walk of life. He was a man whose intellect ranged wide in search of a better society and whose courage knew no limit in its quest. Few men, in growing to maturity, knew greater privilege but few were so willing to share their privilege with others who were less fortunate. Robert Kennedy was a rare man. Senator Kennedy was a decent man whose service we can scarcely spare. As he dedicated his years, so he gave his life to the United States. We will never know how much Senator Kennedy might have contributed, but we know that in his passing we Americans have suffered a great loss.

Hon. Donald Rumsfeld

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in expressing my deep and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and the Kennedy children. Certainly, where there is a void in this Nation as a result of his untimely and tragic death, there is an even greater void for the Kennedy family. Mrs. Rumsfeld and I offer our prayers for this family which has given so much through such tragic circumstances.

It is to be hoped that, in the shadow of this tragedy, we might each seek the light of our personal responsibility to contribute, in our own way, to the quality of American life; to be constructive participants, not observers; and to work within the framework of a civilized society to achieve our best dreams for this Nation and its people.

I salute the strength of spirit and the determination which characterized Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. If there is a lesson to be learned from the profound shock and grief, perhaps it is that every man is capable of these virtues if he will but give himself a chance to develop them. It would seem that this was a part of what Senator Kennedy was attempting to instill in his fellow citizens.

I would hope that we, his countrymen, will recognize our worth and our potential, as individuals and as a nation, and continue to strengthen this society which has so much to contribute.

Hon. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

OF MARYLAND

Mr. Speaker, some months after the death of President Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy was called upon to speak about his brother. It was at this time that he turned to William Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet" and quoted the lines which so many of us remember:

When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

But it was only a few days after John Kennedy's death that Robert Kennedy wrote these words:

Courage is the virtue that President Kennedy most admired. He sought out those people who had demonstrated in some way—whether it was on a battlefield, on a baseball diamond, in a speech or fighting for a cause—that they had courage, that they would stand up, that they could be counted on.

Perhaps it is this quotation from Robert Kennedy which epitomizes the qualities that both of the Kennedys illustrated by their lives. Turning again to William Shakespeare, we recall the words of Julius Caesar:

The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come.

These words also seem to me particularly appropriate for this solemn time. For Robert Kennedy certainly was a courageous man. He knew the dangers of the course which he was taking, and he did not fear what the consequences might be to him. He had the qualities which he said that his brother admired, and obviously pursued these strengths as a part of his very existence.

Whether we agreed with Robert Kennedy or disagreed with him—and on occasion I did both—we must admit that he exemplified the kind of courage and commitment which are so necessary in American life today. His courage was not only physical, but mental and moral. It would have been easy for many men to avoid taking some of the positions and raising some of the questions which Robert Kennedy posed. He raised great animosity against himself, sometimes by the way he said things, but often by the very fact that he said them in the face of tremendous opposition. This is an element of courage which we must admire: the courage which leads a man to fulfill his obligation to his own conscience by trying to accomplish what he believes must be achieved.

It is the tragedy of American life today that people who are so motivated, people who are pursuing the course dictated by conscience and commitment, should become the objects of violent, unreasoning opposition. The element of violent disagreement has become so strong in American life today that it is a frightening specter on the national scene.

All of us can and must now exert ourselves to restore the reign of reason and the spirit of moderation in America. We must discipline ourselves to couch our own thoughts and express our own beliefs in reasonable, responsible terms, and to return an atmosphere of tolerance to public debate. In short, we must restore the Jeffersonian principle of freedom, that however much we disagree with what a man may say, we will defend to the death his right to speak.

Hon. Charles A. Vanik

OF OHIO

Mr. Speaker, grief has come again to the remarkable Kennedy family, and that grief is shared by the entire American people. Senator Robert Francis Kennedy has joined the ranks of martyrs to freedom and justice—men who have come at the hour of our country's need and who have been taken away before their work has been done.

America was his land—body and soul. He knew her New England shores and the rapids of her Western rivers. He climbed her mountains; he knew the limitless horizons of her Dakotas. He was at home in her bustling, teeming cities. He knew America and America knew him and his dream. They were spirits together, and it was a great love.

Robert Kennedy felt more deeply than words can describe, the pain in America and the world around her, so Robert Kennedy was a man in a hurry in a world where problems were fast overtaking time. He spent his life calling our attention to these problems. His appeals were to the conscience of America. He showed us the plight of the handicapped and the unwanted; he showed us the needs of the poor and hungry; he reminded us of our obligations to the lonely elderly.

I was with Senator Kennedy in my hometown of Cleveland, Ohio, the morning after another martyr for freedom, Dr. King, had been assassinated. In one of the most magnificent and moving speeches I have ever heard, the Senator decried violence and hatred in the land he loved. He asked, "What has violence ever accomplished? What has it ever created? No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet."

In the conclusion of that speech on April 5, 1968, he called all Americans to greatness and spread out his dream before us:

But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

Senator Kennedy has joined his brother, our late President, in legend, but the brothers Kennedy have forever become part of the passion of America.

What would these two men have us do now?

I am sure that they would have us recall words of a great American martyr before them who declared to his country:

It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us * * *

Let us be worthy of the Kennedy brothers, and take up the dream of things which never were and continue to ask the question: Why not?

Let us turn the remembrance of this Kennedy dream into daily action. Then the uplifted, brighter life of America will be a joyful living tribute to the cause for which they lived and died.

Hon. Henry S. Reuss

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. Speaker, the questing spirit of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has come to rest at Arlington.

It is fitting that Robert Kennedy's grave is next to that of his brother, the President. The two men—so close in life—knew far more than their share of personal tragedy, and yet they never despaired of the American dream.

Great men serve us as insurrections do in bad governments—

Emerson once said—

The world would run into endless routine, and forms incrust forms, till life was gone. But the perpetual supply of new genius shocks us with thrills of life, and recalls us to principles.

This was the aim of Robert Kennedy, and it is the great hope for America in days to come that something of his courage and compassion can be imparted to the children of this land. From this, perhaps, a better America may emerge.

Hon. James M. Hanley

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there are times in one's life when tragedy strikes, and words adequate to the occasion fail to form on one's lips. The whole system seems to come to a screeching halt and the values, the mores, the goals of our society somehow fall out of perspective. I find myself in such a predicament on this occasion. The senseless murder of Senator Robert F. Kennedy leaves one with an empty feeling at the bottom of his stomach, as though the world had taken leave of its collective senses and the awesome mysteries of the universe had poured forth on the unsuspecting minds of mortal men. How? we ask; and why? The "how" we can answer, if only in an immediate and physical sense; yet we cannot explain the workings of an assassin's mind, and we cannot adequately determine the environmental influences which drove him to this heinous deed. The answer to our cry "why?" perhaps will come, in a limited sense, in some dramatic confrontation in a courtroom, but we may never know really why it happened.

The day after Senator Kennedy died, Monsignor William J. Shannon, rector of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, delivered a eulogy to him. I want to share with you a paragraph of that eulogy, for it offers us some inspiration in our attempts to answer the questions I have posed: "When in retrospect you and I combine the trinity of tragedies and the horrible and untimely deaths of President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King and now Senator Robert F. Kennedy, so distraught are we with grief and wonderment that we look only to God for the answer. Our great country has advanced in science and technology but we have failed somehow to arrive at a satisfactory answer to the enigma of hatred and violence which is its senseless by-product. So perhaps we have not advanced very much at all."

Senator Kennedy was one of the most gracious persons I have known. He was also one of the

most dedicated. To those who were disenfranchised and dispossessed in their own communities, he offered a ray of hope and an arm of justice. To those who sought peaceful change in an unpeaceful world, he was a symbol. I still tremble at the thought of this life cut short by an assassin.

It is neither fair nor intellectually honest to lay the blame for this crime on the heads of 200 million Americans or 3 billion inhabitants of the earth, but in a sense we can all share some collective culpability over the failure of society to come to grips with its shortcomings. Not the least of these shortcomings is a blatant permissiveness, a permissiveness which encourages breaches of the orderly system and then dares society to retribute those offenses. We are all aware of the need to protect and foster individual rights, for without them the democratic process becomes meaningless. But we must also be mindful of the fact that our society as a whole has some rights. Just as certainly as the society is no better protected and no safer from incursion than is any individual, so the individual is no better protected than is the whole society. It is this attitude which clearly must become our frame of reference if this Nation is to survive. Whether it involves leniency in the courts leniency in the schools and universities, leniency in the homes, leniency in dealing with pornographic peddlers, the present attitude seems to be the same—you cannot touch me because I have more rights than society has. We as a nation have to resolve to alter this trend, for the end result of such a trend is anarchy; but we must do so in a way that will not swing the pendulum so far in the other direction as to give us the extreme alternative—which is a police state. Balance, then, or moderation, if you will, is the order of the day. But it is a balance we must constantly labor over in order to preserve.

I am sure you share my faith in America; the same faith held by Robert Kennedy. I am sure you also understand with me that we as a nation are being sorely tried, that our system and our values are being questioned from within, that the days and years ahead will be no easier than those days past. And you know that as surely as we overcame the difficulties of another era, so also we will withstand the trials of the future.

Surely Robert Kennedy, whose whole life work was predicated on faith in America and the

American people, would not want us to lose that faith. If anything, he would want us to redouble our efforts.

Let us resolve to become one nation undivided under God.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in sympathy and prayers for Mrs. Kennedy and her children and at the same time offer them my gratitude for the unswerving strength they demonstrated during their anxiety.

And to Senator Kennedy's mother and father, our prayers and hearts go out.

Hon. George E. Shipley OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and all Americans in extending my deepest sympathy to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

One did not have to agree with all the views of Senator Kennedy to recognize that he was a great American and that he brought to public life in America an unusual quality of dedication and service. He created a great deal of excitement on the national political scene, and carried abroad to all the world an image of America as a young vital nation.

Although we will never know what contributions he may have made in the future, certainly the mark he has made on all our lives will not be forgotten. His deep compassion, concern, and commitment have inspired millions of men and women throughout the world.

Words cannot express the sorrow and loss we all feel, but let us pray to God that we will, at this tragic time, rededicate ourselves to the democratic principles for which Senator Kennedy lived and died.

Hon. Fernand J. St Germain OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. Speaker, the untimely passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a tragic loss to the Kennedy family, which has already known far too many tragedies; for our Nation, which so badly needs the greatness which he embodied; and for mankind, toward whose betterment he so vigorously and unselfishly gave of himself.

We are a lesser people at a very troubled time; a deeply saddened nation.

Those of us who were privileged to be numbered among his friends are acutely aware of the deep feelings Senator Robert Kennedy had for our Nation and the problems which beset it. He continuously sought new approaches to the complex problems we face as a nation and as a society as he struck at the very root causes of our Nation's problems and groped for understanding and resolution in those dark areas of our society where so few dared to tread in the past.

The late, beloved President John F. Kennedy appealed to all Americans to ask what they could do for our country.

No other American responded so quickly or so vigorously as did his own brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose affirmative and positive reply could only be stopped by a fatal bullet.

No other American could have given more toward the solution of our Nation's ills.

No other American could have been more concerned about the underprivileged and their plight.

No other American could have worked harder toward the removal of the violence which has swept our Nation and which claimed the death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy. And yet, Senator Kennedy fell victim to the very violence which he worked so hard to curb and remove.

It is a time for all Americans to mourn, but it is also a time for America to look within, to identify the cancerous areas of its society that so corrupts the mind of its people as to lead them to violence and which makes violence a ready substitute for the orderly and meaningful process of life.

Our Nation has already known far too much violence. We must put an end to it or it will end our Nation.

The ghastly assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy could easily lead us toward further bitterness and its byproduct, violence. But if we are to uphold the ideals and principles for which Robert Kennedy lived and was willing to give his very life, then we must avoid this.

Let us pay heed to the words of the very man we eulogize today who, when commenting upon the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, said:

You can be filled with bitterness, with hatred, with a desire for revenge * * *. We can move in that direction * * *. Or we can make an effort to understand as Dr. King did—to replace violence (the violence that has spread across our land) with compassion and love.

Mr. Speaker, we can replace violence with compassion and love. Let us, for his sake, choose to do so. To do otherwise, would be to disregard the message of love, understand, and concern for others given to us so eloquently in the form of the life of Robert F. Kennedy. The motive which must guide our actions must be, in the words of Senator Robert Kennedy, "to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world."

We can do no more as a nation at this time than to dedicate ourselves to those ideals which Senator Robert Kennedy so well embodied and for which he gave his very life.

Let us strive "to make gentle the life of the world."

Let those gifted with education and affluence speak for and act toward the betterment of those who are less privileged—who are unable to speak or act for themselves.

Let us replace selfishness with selflessness.

Let us replace violence with compassion and love.

Let us escalate our efforts toward peace rather than escalate our military involvements across the globe.

Let us stress that which unites us rather than that which divides us.

Let us realize, as did Senator Robert Kennedy, that you cannot be successful abroad unless you are successful at home.

Let us be reminded of the words of Abraham Lincoln that we are the "last best hope" in the world—that it is to America that the world must look for guidance in the difficult but not impossible task of harmoniously blending the people of the world.

It has been said that what matters most is the direction in which you are headed not how far you have gone. Senator Robert Kennedy's emphasis was upon the direction in which our Nation is headed.

Let us, in the Congress, strive to always point our Nation in the right direction.

If there is to be an Armageddon in our time, let us at least be sure that we are on the right side.

Hon. Herbert Tenzer

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in the House in tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy by recalling my statement of June 6, 1968, when I said:

The voice of a man of great courage has been silenced. Senator Kennedy articulated the cry for justice of the minorities and the underprivileged of our nation.

He has been taken from us—like his brother before him—by an assassin's bullet.

Yesterday when I first received the news of the tragedy which had befallen the Kennedy family, I said:

"The bitterness—the hatred which is dividing us as a people is producing a disease in the minds of some which threatens to destroy our very existence.

"If our democratic system is to survive, we must rededicate ourselves to the treatment of the root causes of this illness before it is too late.

"There are many things which we must do. High on this priority list is the passage of effective gun control legislation calling for regulation of the manufacture and sale of guns. We must also give attention to the need for research, treatment and care in the field of mental illness.

"We require the massing of our brains and resources to solve the problems of the hungry poor—the unemployed and underemployed—the poorly housed and the sick."

I heartily endorse the action taken by President Johnson in appointing a commission to look into the causes and control of physical violence.

This step alone may not be enough. We must call upon the moral and spiritual leadership of our nation and the responsible opinion molders in our society to speak out as one for unity—respect for law and order—respect for the rights of individuals—and respect for the national interest.

Hon. Leonor K. Sullivan

OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, so many Americans respected and admired the late Robert F. Kennedy for so many different reasons that the eulogies which have been written and spoken in his memory will probably provide the first fully rounded picture of this outstanding American's short life and many achievements.

We all had different types of contacts with him as Senator, or as the Attorney General, or as his brother's remarkable campaign manager, and the wonder of it to all of us was how vast were his fields of interest and of knowledge and concern for his fellow human beings.

For instance, I will always be grateful to him for the support he gave—and the leadership, too—on consumer issues and on other legislation in which I have tried to specialize. Knowing how much time and concentration and study it has taken me to become familiar with some of these issues, I was constantly amazed by his broad and detailed knowledge of those same issues, which were only a small part of the many legislative issues in which he was deeply involved. Truly, he was a man of incredible intellectual range and scope.

No legislation is more complex than our housing laws, and yet, although he did not serve on the Senate committee handling this legislation, he learned a vast amount about the subject and made real contributions to the legislation. He was a foremost advocate of the Consumer Credit Protection Act, and testified with great perception and with a profound knowledge of the technical aspects of this subject at hearings conducted in New York last August by two of the members of my subcommittee, Mr. Bingham and Mr. Halpern. He supported the food stamp legislation last year only after satisfying himself by his own investigation and by deep personal involvement that this program pointed the way toward achieving the goal of adequate diets for all of the low-income families of this Nation.

How one man found the time and the energy, and could so discipline himself to learn as much and do as much in so many different areas, will always be a mystery to the rest of us, who think we work hard but cannot possibly work as hard as he did.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation and the civilized world have lost an invaluable talent in his tragic death. I hope we can now carry through, as a further mark of respect to his memory, and correct many of the ills he spent so much of his life in crusading against. All of the residents of my congressional district, regardless of party, of religion, of color, or of economic station, join me in voicing our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family, for we all share in that bereavement. His life, and the fearless manner in which he acted, brought home to all of us the need for deeper faith in God, and for greater dedication by all Americans to a course of action based on spiritual values.

Hon. Joseph E. Karth
OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Speaker, the family of citizens in Minnesota's Fourth District recoils in shock at the loss visited upon America by the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Our sense of grief is coupled with profound sympathy, first for his tragically oppressed family, secondly for the people of this Nation who found in this committed leader a symbol of unswerving credibility and hope.

Senator Kennedy, perhaps through his own grievous losses, possessed a quality of compassion and understanding that was communicated almost instinctively to many of the oppressed in our Nation. His presence, his concern must now be replaced by a fitting resolve for justice by all people in this country. Only in this way can we fulfill the deep aspirations of his lifetime.

The great canopy of grief that now overshadows America will pass in time. But in its place, as we seek reaffirmation of life and purpose, a vast national commitment must arise to erase from our people the hate, the violence, the cruel, and unthinking pattern of public assassination that has become altogether too commonplace.

Senator Robert Kennedy, like his late beloved brother, lived and died pursuing a life of generous public service. Each was possessed with a sense of his part in the sweep of national history. Each in the end made the ultimate sacrifice to his Nation. Now this Nation must awaken to its own humanity and renew a sensitivity to life values. That awakening alone can form a lasting and appropriate testament to those whom we have lost.

Hon. Silvio O. Conte
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the appropriate eulogy for Robert Francis Kennedy is written in the history of the past 8 years, and particularly in the history of the crusade for civil rights. These years were echoed and summed up in Senator Kennedy's last campaign, with its great concern for righting wrong and healing suffering, expressed in the style and rhetoric of a great movement for change.

In his career as Senator, Robert Kennedy was in the forefront of the causes so prominent in the public consciousness, the causes of the poor, the hungry, the forgotten—the Negro slum-dweller, the American Indian, the Mexican-American. He spoke in the tones of the activist, with that man's outstanding trait of commitment, a great passion demanding dramatic action. This is a dangerous trait, capable of doing great harm, but of doing great good also; and in the work of Senator Kennedy, it produced immeasurable good.

His deep and evident shock at the dreary life of the slum and the reservation won him the trust of the Indian, Mexican, and Negro. He won the unquestioning devotion of many who thought they could never believe a white person. And he hoped and planned to turn this trust to the benefit of his country. Among his last public words were:

I think we can end the divisions within the United States, the violence.

When Senator Kennedy took the forefront of the cause of civil rights, he marched in the van of a fundamentally legal crusade. He was part of a great movement sprung from an act of law, the granting of citizenship to the African slave. This act of emancipation is celebrated in the great Negro holiday the Juneteenth, the 19th of June—we saw this day celebrated last week in the Solidarity Day march. The act of emancipation wrought a momentous change in our constitutional and legal life which still preoccupies us 100 years later, and which preoccupied Robert Kennedy throughout his national career.

As Attorney General, he presided over the final granting of legal citizenship to the descendants of the emancipated slaves. And like last week's march, which for all its radical decoration commemorated an act of law, Senator Kennedy's last campaign, which some found so frightening in its appeal to the oppressed, was fundamentally based on his concern for law.

He pursued injustice as a young investigator for Senate committee hearings; he enforced law as Attorney General; and, as Senator, he sought to make the law just. He was a white person who could lecture on law and order in Watts—and be listened to. He was a man capable of showing the country that its divisions could be bridged by law, if only the law transcended the divisions. If one law applied to black and white, then black and

white would submit to the law. Robert Kennedy's most permanent record is written in the law, in the laws he enforced and the laws he helped write. Like his funeral procession, any tribute to his memory must pause at the Justice Department and the campsite of the Nation's poor.

But Robert Kennedy had a wider constituency, including as many groups and interests as the polyglot city and State of New York, if not the entire nationwide range of his mourners.

He was a leader in the great tradition inherited from medieval nobility. Almost as if the family abided by the medieval law of primogeniture, he assumed the burden and glory of his family responsibility on the death of his brother, President Kennedy, just as his brother had taken up the political career planned for the first born, Joseph. He was a wealthy man who cared about the poor, a famous man who mingled with the obscure, a proud man who respected the humble, and a shy man who stood before the many. He aroused the deep and irrational loyalty peculiar to feudal life. During life, he won a special place in the hearts of many which the manner of his death has made firm and enduring in the hearts of the whole country. I know no more fitting expression of this subtle and delicate emotion than the quotation from Shakespeare with which Robert Kennedy eulogized his older brother at the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City:

When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of Heaven so fine,
That all the world will be in love with night
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

And as for us, his mourners, who have for 5 years now seen so many heavy blows delivered to the fabric of our political life, perhaps it is fitting to remember another quotation, from Aeschylus, delivered by Senator Kennedy on the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.:

Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful Grace of God.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Record at this point the following editorials which appeared in my district, as an eloquent example of the feelings of this Nation toward the late Senator Robert Kennedy:

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Daily Telegram Transcript,
June 6, 1968]

HE DARED

Robert F. Kennedy died at the hands of an assassin before he had a chance to prove his ability to win the Presidency, and his ability to govern a nation. But he did not die before he had proven his ability as a man.

We can never know how this dynamic young man would have influenced his world. We do know he would have tried to change things as they are. And perhaps that is why he is dead.

Those who would challenge the sickness of society, the darkness of the status quo must always be targets of those who undeserved prerogatives are threatened.

Senator Kennedy, as his brother before him, was willing to make the challenge, and accepted the risk. Must it be ever thus? Must it always be that the gallant and daring die young before they can achieve their goals? Perhaps not. Hopefully not, because there must always be those with the courage to lead us out of the darkness into light. There must always be Kennedys, Lincolns, Kings, and others who have suffered martyrdom for the sake of mankind.

Senator Kennedy will not witness the changes he had dared urge, but many will come about because others will continue to challenge; continue to dare. He has left us a legacy of courage which we as a nation are honor bound to carry on.

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Daily Telegram Transcript,
June 6, 1968]

SICKNESS IN AMERICA

President John F. Kennedy.

Medgar Evers.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

James Meredith.

Malcolm X.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

These six men are or were different in countless ways. The color of their skin, their personal affluence, their approaches to action, their beliefs in the power of love and the power of hate—all varied.

Yet these six will be remembered for what they have in common. They shared the horror of an assailant's bullet.

More than just this, they are or were public figures, moving in political worlds in the style of the 1960's. And, as such, they share the tradition of violence and assassination that bloodies America of the 1960's.

Our deep-rooted belief in a rule of reason and a government of laws does not accept this fact, but fact it is. The sickness that grips the minds of individuals who substitute a gun for the ballot box reflects a sickness that lies across America today.

Where will it end?

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Daily Telegram Transcript,
June 5, 1968]

AS A NATION PRAYS

Senator Robert Kennedy is still living as this is written, and we pray that when it is read he will be winning the

struggle for recovery. The disaster that has befallen him draws us all together in shock, sorrow, and desperate hope that his famous fighting spirit can grasp the medical rescue and pull him through.

An outraged Nation has to ask, is this the price of political controversy in this country? Bobby Kennedy has been a strong, colorful, emotional public figure of the kind that Americans admire—and love and hate. We have no taste for pallid leadership here. The fury which some of our most notable public men have met—President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Johnson, and Senator Robert Kennedy—is taken even by their critics as a measure of their mettle.

Is there no way that we can protect them from risking their lives for this boldness?

This happens too often in our country for each assassination attempt, whether successful or not, to be classified only as a unique act by an irrational individual. This it usually has been. But the social climate contributes to these acts. There is as much mental illness in other countries at our own stage of development. There is as much political controversy. There is vastly less killing, less shooting.

Most of our Presidents have experienced attempts on their life. We are not sure the Nation is any "sicker" now than it was when President Lincoln was shot. The slaying of President Kennedy, of Dr. Martin Luther King, and now this assault on Senator Robert Kennedy have their roots in a primitive, frontier tolerance of the man who takes the law in his own hands and kills. The modern aspect of this is that now we consider such people to be crazy.

There must be a new tidal demand for stricter control of firearms if we are to take control of our affairs out of the hands of random gunmen. But must we not also check our tendency to set up prominent leaders as targets for the emotionally uncontrolled?

The fever of the Kennedy campaign was dangerous with its emotional overcharge, its mobs that had to touch the candidate, tear off cufflinks and shoes. Certainly Martin Luther King knew that in his calmer but even more deeply emotional approach there was daily risk of death. Presidents have bodyguards for good reason.

There is a point at which every man who stands on principle and makes enemies refuses to let safety considerations hamper his movements. President Johnson has been firm about this. Robert Kennedy refused police escort.

But it is surely time for others—for campaign managers, for the press, radio, and television, for the public whose attention is courted—to exercise some sensible restraint in whipping up artificial frenzy in the name of political popularity. The hullabaloo may be a game to hardened practitioners, but it is a deadly one that takes some of our most gifted people in bloody sacrifice.

Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham
OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, some men do not receive the admiration and affection they reserve until after

they are gone. I believe this will be true of Robert Kennedy.

Some of his qualities were obvious, such as his vitality, his wit, his courting of physical stress and danger, his competitiveness, his intensity, and his ability.

What was less obvious, and often not recognized, was the depth of his caring about the problems of his city, State and country, and of the world, and his passionate desire to make things better.

He was one of the most fascinating and complex people I have ever known, with many seemingly contradictory qualities, such as boldness combined with caution, idealism with practicality, toughness with tenderness, diffidence with self-confidence.

I am profoundly grateful that I had a chance to know Robert Kennedy. At first I admired and slightly feared him; later on, my fear dissolved and my admiration—as was the case with so many others—grew to include devotion and affection.

I hope I may be excused if I indulge in a few reminiscences, which may cast a little light on the kind of man Robert Kennedy was.

One day in 1963 when I was sitting in my office at the U.S. mission to the United Nations, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, suddenly appeared, unannounced, with the then Attorney General. The electric intensity of the visitor's blue eyes was startling. I felt that he was sizing me up with uncanny skill and perception.

In October of 1964, during his senatorial campaign, he came to visit his family's former house in the Riverdale section of Bronx County, N.Y., where he had lived when he was a very small boy. He brought his nephew John with him. The busy candidate suddenly seemed to forget all about his schedule and wandered off among the trees in the yard, his eyes on the ground apparently totally lost in his thoughts. For a quarter of an hour or so, his aides tactfully refrained from bringing him back to the campaign.

A few days later Robert Kennedy came back to Riverdale, with his wife Ethel, for two street rallies. There was the incredible press of a clamoring crowd which later became so familiar. Ethel, who was expecting a child, was caught in the crush, and her husband kept checking to

see that she was all right. They had not eaten for hours. At Ethel's request, one of my children procured two chocolate milkshakes. On the way from one rally to the other the open car was halted for 2 minutes so that the candidate and his wife could gulp down their lunch.

In January of 1965, as a new Senator, Robert Kennedy set the Women's National Press Club dinner in Washington exploding with laughter. First, he spoke of his pride in addressing such an assemblage "as a representative of the great State of—er, er" and he pretended to forget the name. Then, he spoke scornfully of Senator Joseph Tydings, also just elected and at the dais:

I should think he'd be ashamed—

Kennedy said—

to run for the Senate just on his name.

During much of 1967, I had the privilege of working with Senator Kennedy in a small working group of five on a statement intended to outline principles that might govern an acceptable settlement of the Vietnam conflict. He displayed a quick understanding of implications and nuances of language—not afraid to plow new ground but wanting to "know where that will lead us." He was flexible and easy to work with, eventually agreed to go along with the statement, but accepted gracefully a later decision that the statement would be issued by Members of the House only.

One evening last March, Senator Kennedy's plane was diverted from New York to Philadelphia but he nevertheless managed to get to a dinner meeting in the Bronx at which he had promised to speak. He had an excellent excuse for not attending, and there were other urgent matters on his mind that evening. But he kept his commitment.

Mr. Speaker, it is notably appropriate that the Kennedy family gravesite in Arlington Cemetery is marked by a flame. Both President Kennedy and his brother Robert had a flamelike quality.

The tragedy in both cases was great. But the hurt is perhaps even greater in the case of Robert Kennedy because he, unlike his brother, had not realized his potential. He had the capacity to learn from his mistakes, and he was still growing as a man when he died.

As Averell Harriman said the day of his death,

if Robert Kennedy had reached the White House, he would have made a great President.

His loss to all of us is immeasurable.

Hon. George M. Rhodes

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, with all of my colleagues in the Congress I join in paying tribute to the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy who died in the service of his country and his fellow men.

Only a madman could take the life of such a talented leader in the cause of social justice, equality, and human progress, and the head of a lovely and devoted family.

In the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy there came about—rather unfortunately—a better understanding of what he stood for.

He stood for something basic and humane in all Americans. You can trace the roots back to the beginning of the country.

He was an international figure who was just as much at home and sincere while holding a poor child on his lap as he was in the plush palaces of European dynasties.

You do not have to talk about Senator Kennedy being a choice for the presidency or whether he was a better man than other national figures. His ambitions are all gone now and we can reflect upon the genuine man.

In recent years his energies were directed upon the homefront—a domestic scene that often goes unnoticed in the headlines.

But in all of his 42 years, he became involved in decisionmaking situations usually reserved for public servants many years his senior.

They are far too numerous to set forth, but one which should not go unnoticed was his awareness, along with other national and world leaders, that both the United States and the Soviet Union had to—for the sake of mankind—sign a treaty ending the testing of nuclear explosives in the atmosphere. Most of the other nations in the world followed suit and today the subject is little talked about, yet it could have been one of the most important decisions in world history.

As a personality, Senator Kennedy stood out among men. Even the presence of his beloved family spoke for what he thought on behalf of young people throughout the world.

They were a happy, loving group—unique on the Washington scene. Now the father of the family is gone and so is the leader of a great many Americans.

It is fitting but sad that Senator Kennedy's body is buried near to that of his late brother, President John Kennedy.

Together, these two young men forged bold ideas for a restless powerful country. Much of what they have left behind will last for decades. We trust that all Americans and the rest of the world will not forget them and the special contributions they have left, at the expense of their own lives.

Mr. Speaker, many words have been spoken, many pages of the Congressional Record have been filled with tributes and words of praise to Senator Robert Kennedy. I am sure that the Members feel, like I do, that no words are adequate to express our feelings for the Kennedy family. An American family which has been asked to bear the sadness and shock of too many tragedies.

As I expressed myself in the House of Representatives on June 5, 1968, I feel there is no adequate way to describe the shock and sadness here and throughout the Nation over the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

He was an able, sincere, dedicated American, liberal, progressive, and courageous.

Many thoughts stood still in the agonized waiting period after the shooting as we were all concerned about the life of Senator Kennedy.

Concern gradually turned to grief as we heard the news that the skilled hands of the surgeons were not able to save his life.

The Kennedy family possesses courage that shows when tragedy befalls them. The call of tragic death requires courage to face the pitfalls and resolve to begin anew. To carry on the beliefs and hopes that were goals of Senator Robert F. Kennedy will require the remaining members of his family be pillars of strength and fortitude.

Senator Edward Kennedy showed some of this strength in his eulogy to his brother at the funeral mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Pride and sorrow, grief and promise, showed not only in his face but in the faces of the Kennedy family.

Senator Kennedy, like his brother John, was admired and respected in the Sixth District of

Pennsylvania which I am privileged to represent in the Congress.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, to include with my remarks a eulogy on the Senator's death by the Reverend Anthony Recapito in St. Barbara's Church, Minersville, Pa.

Father Recapito began by quoting these remarks which he attributed to Senator Robert Kennedy:

SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

(A eulogy by the Reverend Anthony Recapito)

"My brother need not be idealized or enlarged in death what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it." These words are from Senator Kennedy's talk at the mass for his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy.

In 1960 the world saw a family which seemed to have a great influence on the American way of life. This family was a vibrant, living group * * * one which seemed to become a part of every one of us. We talked about the members of this family by their first names, almost as though we were very close to them, and this perhaps was a wish we all shared together to be close to them. They were so very much alive * * * so very American. * * * and for us Catholics * * * so very Catholic. We felt proud that they believed what we believed, that they received the same Christ in communion just as we did, that they went to confession, just as we did * * * and, we felt happy that here was a family that showed the world that Americanism and Catholicism do go * * * hand in hand. Yes, we called them Jack, Bobby, Teddy. The girls were Eunice and Patricia. We referred to their wives as Jackie and Ethel and Joan. And, somehow or other the world was wondering just how the Kennedy family could be stopped from becoming a dynasty in American politics. * * * the brothers were so very young and already there was talk of John Kennedy as our next President. In fact, the question had already risen as to his future after he had served his two terms as President of these United States.

We were all thrilled by the campaign of that year; and yes, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected the President * * * the first Catholic to serve in this great office. The world saw an end to prejudice and realized that it had been beaten in this one battle. It was possible for a Catholic to be in the White House and the world was a little better because we had elected a man regardless of his religion. The new President was a dynamic personality. He was so very much alive * * * so very full of ideas for the new frontier * * * and suddenly it was all over. He was dead * * * assassinated by a man, unknown and insignificant but one who would always be known now as the murderer of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. To use a child's old rhyme: and now there were two * * * two brothers left * * * one a Senator, and the other, Robert, the Attorney General. Two brothers left, both still so young and so very dynamic themselves but both living now with broken hearts and a

sadness which seemed so great that it would never leave them.

Two brothers left to carry on in the Kennedy tradition and this they did. Both are Senators now and liked and loved by many and hated also by many. But, no one could deny their courage as they lived with the hurt and sadness filling their thoughts and minds. Their brother, the President, was dead * * * they missed him * * * they always would. But, they carried on and as the years passed, we see Robert Kennedy being spoken of as running for the Presidency. Sure enough, he declares himself a contender, and the campaign trail helps put aside the tragedy, the Kennedy Family had known. Here was another one of theirs who needed help and they all pitched in to help put him where Jack had been.

Once again, the people began to feel the thrill of the campaign * * * Again, we called them by their first names and the Kennedy fever was catching on throughout the United States. There was something about a Kennedy running for office. There was something catchy * * * something glamorous * * * something real and exciting * * something alive and vibrant. And yes, Bobby was winning here and there. In the heat of the campaign comes the news that another Kennedy will be born. Will he be born in the White House?

It is beginning to look as if the Kennedy Clan will once again live in the White House. We can almost picture the children playing on the lawn and see them have parties. But * * * we still must win the nomination and so we come to California. The vote is close at first but then Bobby pulls ahead and the verdict is for Kennedy. Bobby has won and the excitement mounts again. Listen to the crowd as Bobby and Ethel come into the hall for the victory speech. Listen to his words. How wonderful they are * * * so full of life and the future * * * so full of love for America and Americans. He is smiling and happy * * * and Ethel at his side * * * is beautiful and jubilant * * * and so happy.

It's a great end for the wonderful campaign of California. It's a wonderful moment * * *. And, then as they leave with happy hearts and with gay shouts following them, who could ever imagine that it would happen again. Who would think it could happen again? But, it does and the end is really here. The end of the campaign in California * * * the end of the entire campaign, as another assassin creeps from beneath his stone and Robert Kennedy is shot down. He dies and history repeats itself. And, we pause as we realize that now there is but one left * * *. One brother of the three original Kennedy brothers * * * they, who had been so very much alive * * * could they be stopped from forming a dynasty? Yes, now only Teddy is left.

Let's leave Teddy with his sorrow for a little while and let's examine our way of life to find out why these acts of violence are happening in this great country, we call home. The time for soft talk is over. We must use harsh words and we must face facts. First of all, a lot of our Supreme Court decisions lately have been rotten because while trying so hard to preserve the constitutionality of man's rights, they forget sometimes the very principles under which our country was founded. To forbid the publication of a book or to censor a bad motion picture is unconstitutional because freedom must be pre-

served. Don't pray in our schools and don't celebrate anything of a religious nature in our schools because again freedom must be preserved. This country was founded under God.

His love was sought by our founding fathers and now we must allow our children to find evil so readily * * * we must take from our children's roster any mention of their Creator * * * just because some few want to make money or because some few, do not believe in God. The very fact that they battle against Him is proof * * *. He does exist. Let our young act as they will * * * let them dress as they will * * * let them dictate to the authorities * * * let them do all this because they are free and we must not take this freedom from them. Oh, yes, let the criminal know his rights and forget the arresting officer. Don't forget to tell the criminal what rights he has but how about the officer doing his duty to protect the rights of others.

Let crime be glorified and sin glamourized. How many of our young people saw Bonnie and Clyde and enjoyed the details of this picture? Perhaps a young Jordanian saw it and saw how wonderful it was to kill. Perhaps, Sirhan Sirhan heard Bonnie giggle as Clyde killed and perhaps he thought about killing and today, there are ten children left without a father and one unborn child, who will have to read about his father in the history books of America, because this man murdered their father. Secondly, we must realize that all men are created equal. We must act this way, we cannot just say it. We can no longer ignore the situation. Third, we must learn the meaning of getting involved. We must get involved with our fellow Americans. We can no longer lock our doors and pull down our shades. No longer can we stuff cotton into our ears so we will not hear the screams of another who is being attacked or being robbed or being murdered.

We cannot keep running from giving help to our fellow man because as long as we do keep running then we are partially responsible for Robert Kennedy's death. Yes, and we are partially responsible for John Kennedy's death and for Martin Luther King's death, and for the death of Medgar Evers and those little children bombed to death as they prayed in church.

Someone said recently: "I had a dream." Well, I had a dream last evening and I saw Robert Kennedy standing in the presence of Jesus Christ, the Judge. And, Christ was welcoming our Bobby into Heaven. I heard Christ say: "Come into Heaven, you were so nice to Me while you lived on earth. I was hungry and you gave Me to eat. I was thirsty and you gave Me a drink. Homeless, and you took Me in; naked and you clothed Me." And, my dream continued with Bobby asking our Lord: "When did I see You hungry and thirsty? When were You homeless and naked? I never gave You food or drink". And Our Lord replied: "You gave it to the least of these My brethren and in doing so, you gave it to Me." You helped the black man and the world called you a dirty name * * * a nigger-lover * * * but I called you Son, a real Christian, a real follower of My Father. You helped the poor and they called you an opportunist but I called you a man of God * * * a good man * * * you fought for right and they called you ruthless, but I called you to Myself * * * and I called you a just man. And because

you are as you are I am happy to make you welcome here in this your home."

This was my dream and if we are to benefit from his death, we must make Bobby Kennedy's way *** our way. Yes, if we are to benefit from the very death of Jesus Christ himself, then His way must be our way because it was His way that Bobby Kennedy followed. Finally, as we face facts, we must examine our party system. Too often the party insists on a straight party vote. But, sometimes on a ticket, there is a saint and a crook. Our country deserves the best and we should vote for the best man for the office, regardless of party. If, we must preserve the straight party ticket, then make sure we get the best men for all offices in the election. These are a few hard facts we must face if we are to live with ourselves. And, as we mourn today we must think of these and resolve to do something about them.

Yes, Robert Kennedy is dead following the wav of his brother, John. Only *** Teddy remains. And, he is a Kennedy as are the others of his family. A lot say that they are rich and will get along. But, remember, the wealth of this great American family did not prevent them from knowing sorrow as very few have known sorrow. It did not prevent them from losing a son in the service *** it did not prevent their daughter from being killed in a plane crash *** a daughter who had been widowed young in life *** their wealth could not prevent the sorrow of a retarded child *** nor could it prevent Teddy's near fatal crash *** and it did not prevent them from having two sons assassinated *** two sons assassinated. Their wealth has brought them closer to God and this is to their credit *** their sorrows in their lives they have accepted as the will of God. Even, Ethel Kennedy knew sorrow in her own family *** her parents and a brother were killed in plane crashes. But, Ethel's greatest sorrow is now. Her children were born out of love and now her husband is dead *** the man she loved is gone *** the father of the child she bears now will never see the child conceived in their great love for each other. Ethel was brave at the funeral but she misses him so much already *** and she will miss him more and more as time goes on. The children have no father. When sorrow strikes *** it strikes hard and it hurts even though our faith is strong. The love the Kennedys have for each other is great but their father is no longer with them. No more will he play with them on the lawn *** no longer will he be with them on vacations *** no more will they hear his laughter and his song *** no more will his voice call them or speak to them *** no longer will he be there just to take his hand and walk with him in God's ways *** on this God's earth.

I like the Kennedy Family because of their faith *** because of their great American way *** because of their courage. They know sorrow *** we too may have known sorrow. But think for a moment *** can any sorrow match theirs *** in that two sons have been assassinated? Two sons, so very much alive snatched suddenly from the life they loved so much. Yes, they are well off *** rich with the spirit of poverty *** poor in heart *** but money cannot take from their hearts the sorrow they have *** they mourn just as we mourn *** they cry just as we cry *** they say: "Why

did it happen?" Just as we say "why"? They are so very human *** so very real *** so very much in love with each other member of the family. And, they walk with heads held high but *** with hearts broken to bits *** by the loss now of Robert F. Kennedy.

John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy did not have to run for President. They were candidates because they were the men they were *** they had visions of new frontiers *** they envisioned an America on the move *** they knew they could be good leaders and they used the talents God gave them for their country. They gave themselves to our country *** and they gave their lives for our country. Behind them they leave two widows *** they leave 12 fatherless, leave a family with loving memories of good times *** a family with broken hearts because they are left with these same memories. How much more can they take, O Lord? But, as they themselves pray: "Thy will be done". Look at Ethel, asking that the funeral be joyful rather than sad *** look at the children taking part in the funeral of their father *** look at Teddy speaking about his brother *** Yes, Lord, their prayer is Thy prayer *** "Thy will be done".

Today, we mourn the death of a great man. Today, party lines are set aside as we pay honor to Robert F. Kennedy. If, we are not edified by this great man and his family *** if, we are not inspired by the way they accept the sorrow, that is theirs *** if, we do not cry a little today ourselves *** then, we have no heart for greatness and for courage and for faith and for love of God and love of family. If, we are not encouraged by the lives of the Kennedys, then family life and love means nothing to us. Yes, we mourn today because a part of us is gone. We called him Bobby and felt close to him and he is gone from our midst. Our prayers too must be "Thy will be done."

In 1960, there were three brothers *** vibrant, alive, dynamic and sincere. Now *** only one is left. This is the tragedy of our day. One left *** out of three Senator Edward Kennedy stands alone *** the lone male member of the Kennedy brothers. What will his future hold? John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy will not die. Nor will brother—Joseph Kennedy be forgotten. They gave something to our world and we will not forget them. We will not let their memory pass from our minds. Our world was a little better off *** a better place to live because of these brothers, who died for us and for these United States. They will live on in our memories, yes; but they will live on in the flesh in their children. Ted is the last of the brothers *** but, there are other Kennedys growing up. They have grown up so very fast—helped by the assassinations of their fathers. These boys became men overnight. There is another Joe *** another John *** another Robert—Kennedy. Already, they have taken their places in America.

Please God, we will not let them down.

Please God, we will not have let their fathers die in vain.

We pray God, that their sorrow *** the sorrow of the Kennedy family *** and the sorrow of America *** is over.

Let us pray that, we Americans left to carry on their work *** will do so facing up to ourselves and to the involvement necessary.

Today, we must take up the work of Robert F. Kennedy and as he did * * * we must, too. We must look around us and where we see wrong * * * we must try to right it * * * we must right wrong * * * where we see suffering * * * we must try to heal it * * * we must heal suffering * * * and where we see war * * * we must try to stop it * * * if America is to survive.

Hon. Lionel Van Deerlin OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, in the 13 days since the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, countless tributes have been written and spoken about this charismatic young man and his hopes for a better America and a united world.

Men of good will representing all shades of political opinion have attested to the great void created in our national life by his passing.

For Robert Kennedy was no ordinary man of affairs. To millions of people in this country, and around the globe, he was the embodiment of a legend, the bearer of the torch taken up from his fallen brother. Senator Kennedy responded in kind to the outpouring of feeling that surrounded him. He never went just half way, but instead gave of himself completely to the legions of his friends and admirers. And in return he expected them to be activists, fully committed to his cause and his candidacy.

Perhaps he was an anachronism, in an era when public officeholders are tending to become remote from their constituents. He was typically in the thick of the crowds whose support he sought, and whose interests he advocated in Congress with a flair and a style that few of his predecessors or contemporaries have been able to match. Although possessed of great wealth, he spoke and fought for the dispossessed—the poor, the minorities, and the ill-trained—in our otherwise prosperous society.

He was one of our most complex public figures, both shy and bold, strangely vulnerable yet willing to take any risks, whether shooting a rapids or trying to right an ancient wrong. In the moving words of his brother, Edward, spoken at the funeral, Robert Kennedy “saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.”

Bob Kennedy did not achieve his magnificent goals; he could not, in the brief time allotted him. But because of him, and other members of

his illustrious family, our politics will never quite be the same again. Like his brother Jack before him, Bob told us that the old ways of doing things were not quite good enough, that we cannot solve our problems by adding new layers of bureaucracy to shield our leaders from the people they are purporting to help.

There were no shields around Robert Kennedy, and he paid the ultimate price for his courage.

Hon. John V. Tunney OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy in the full bloom of life is not only a tragedy for his family and others who loved him, it is a horrible loss for the Nation.

Reproach and recrimination can in no way lift the burden of incredulous despair that fills the hearts of Americans in this hour. Why so senseless and brutal an act? When will rule of law supplant the code of the jungle in our society? These and other questions only serve to emphasize the irrationality and cruelty of the assassin's deed.

As one looks at the life and career of Robert Kennedy, one is struck by their heroic dimensions. Here was a man of courage, compassion, and integrity. The qualities of manhood were so interwoven in his being that nobility and humility found themselves gracious companions. In private and public life, he established high standards of accomplishment and he always persisted in the pursuit of his goals.

He was a loving father, a devoted husband, a trusted and trusting friend. He had a vision of our country in which all our people were afforded the opportunity to improve their spiritual and physical condition. He foresaw a time when internal divisiveness would be replaced by interdependent harmony, a time when men could progress according to their talents and diligence, not their situation at birth. He wanted to bind wounds, not inflame them. He had confidence in the American dream.

Robert Frost once wrote a description of a man which to me sums up Senator Robert Kennedy:

He knew a path that wanted walking;
He knew a spring that wanted drinking;
A thought that wanted further thinking;
A love that wanted re-renewing.

Nor was this just a way of talking,
To save him the expense of doing,
With him it boded action, deed.

Hon. Robert N. Giaimo
OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, once again we meet to eulogize the death of a great leader. Senator Kennedy was taken from us, as was his brother President John Kennedy, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., by an act so senseless that the mind cannot understand it.

As adviser to his brother, Attorney General of the United States and U.S. Senator, Robert Kennedy did much to enhance the quality of life in our country.

His concern for the poor and underprivileged in this country and around the world was unmatched by any public figure of our time. But, we all will suffer from his loss; the poor, for they have lost a champion; the more fortunate, for they have lost a conscience.

Mr. Speaker, Robert Kennedy was not an inflexible person. As one commentator put it, he was always in the process of becoming. Now we have been deprived of the great promise he offered.

God has given much to the Kennedy family, and taken away much. Only He knows why. All we can do is offer them our condolences and our prayers. We know that they are strong, that their faith in God will carry them through this time of trial. I hope that faith will likewise sustain our Nation.

Hon. Peter N. Kyros
OF MAINE

Mr. Speaker, the outrageous and tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has stunned the world. A depraved minority of one has again destroyed a great leader and the dream of millions. The course of our Government and history has again been altered by a bullet—and not a ballot.

We have lost a vital human being. Robert Kennedy's zest for life invigorated us. His vision of an America where understanding might overcome hatred inspired us. His compassion in com-

bating injustice and poverty stirred our consciences and enriched man's dignity. His challenge to excel dared us to reject the easy and the complacent, to confront the difficult, to make the most of our lives. All this is now no more. There is no compensation for so great an individual and national tragedy.

When President Kennedy was assassinated during that bleak moment in our history 5 years ago, no one suffered more overwhelming grief, no one felt more of a loss, than his brother, Robert Kennedy. Yet Robert Kennedy was not intimidated: he had a deep and abiding faith in humanity, a belief that we are a great country, a compassionate country, and that we are perhaps the best hope of earth. He continued to serve, to do his best, to sacrifice, to meet and attempt to resolve the fundamental questions and problems that face this Nation and the world. We must follow his example, and during this time of anguish adopt his faith.

It is now for us to determine that from this tragedy we shall learn and we shall have a deeper knowledge of ourselves and the condition of America. It is for us to find meaning in this senseless act.

The paralyzing horror we feel at Robert Kennedy's assassination should lead us all to ponder in deep reflection whether we shall permit history to judge that he believed in us, the American people, more than we deserved.

Are we a tired and declining nation to be corrupted inevitably by moral indifference and material concerns?

Are we a nation destined to disintegrate from hate-filled divisions of race?

Are we a people hopelessly divided into the self-satisfied affluent and the powerless poor?

Are we a people who prefer personal comfort to individual commitment?

Are we a society tolerant of violence and scornful of reason and law?

Robert Kennedy's life was an affirmation that we, as a people, must meet and resolve these fundamental questions. His was a living belief and a cherished ideal that America does have the moral capacity to make our civilization worthy of greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the realization of that faith and the triumph of that ideal.

Hon. Paul G. Rogers
OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in expressing my sorrow at the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

I cannot but think of the terrible burden that has been placed on the entire Kennedy family because three of its sons sought to serve their country.

Each died in the prime of his life, his work unfinished, his promise unrealized.

The horrible irony which surrounds the death of Senator Kennedy, who was a man of peace, serves as a shocking commentary on the need for this Nation to mass its efforts against violence and hate.

Political alliances or philosophical belief cannot deter the fact that Robert Kennedy was a devoted and dedicated public servant.

I would like to express my sympathy and that of my wife Becky to the family of Robert Kennedy.

Hon. Bob Eckhardt
OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, it is rare to find a leader today who combines pragmatism and compassion. Robert F. Kennedy was such a man. He probed into the realities of the life of the poor and the devoid of hope as few public men have done.

He knew that compassion alone, without a concern that engenders action, is not enough. It was compassion and concern that the black man and the disadvantaged detected in his character. They found in him what they most needed—hope. This is why so many of the poor and of the minorities voted for him, why so many of the humble born felt a common bond with this well-born young man.

He shared with those whose lives founded in city slums an active indignation at a rich society's tolerance of desperate poverty without opportunity to escape. His good fortune made him the more sensitive to his fellow's misfortune.

This is what the common man sensed in this most uncommon man. They judged rightly for, unless the feeling for their plight inspires a

leader to the emotional pitch of indignation, there is no time limit on reform, there is no sufficient urgency. For many, reform is needed now. If they must wait, they will be swept down the stream. This is why so many clung so desperately to the vibrant life that burned in Robert Kennedy.

Hon. Margaret M. Heckler
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, when a nation loses a man as distinguished as Senator Robert F. Kennedy, it is indeed difficult to describe the magnitude of his loss. But the growing popular realization following the assassination of our Senator Kennedy is even more startling—a new awareness that the fiber and being of Robert Kennedy was often publicized but often misunderstood during his lifetime.

A recent article in the *New Yorker* magazine which described the passing of Senator Kennedy perhaps comes closest to explaining the phenomenon of this unusual man:

He could never be accurately measured, especially in terms of the past; he was always in the process of becoming. He was responsive to change, and changed himself.

An energetic man, sensitive to the demands of a fast-moving world, Robert Kennedy sounded a sympathetic chord among those who shared his zest for action and living.

His many friends in his native Massachusetts and in New York, as well as his countless supporters from Indiana to California and throughout the United States, are deeply saddened and will not recover easily from his tragic and senseless death.

In him they saw the vibrant and dynamic qualities of leadership, these same qualities, I might add, which led others to malign him. Throughout his life, the contrast between what attracted so many to him and what others believed the image of Robert Kennedy to be was most sharply defined. In tribute to Robert Kennedy, it may be said that death has set the record straight.

The personality of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has, sadly enough, achieved new dimensions through his passing. His commitment to improving the quality of American life also gave new dimensions in inspiration for all Americans.

Hon. Edna F. Kelly

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, my friend, Robert Francis Kennedy, is dead. Twice before I have spoken in this House about his tragic and untimely passing. Words alone cannot express my personal grief over his assassination. However, I have found some measure of comfort in a brief but meaningful quotation from the Book of Wisdom, an excerpt of which I wish to share with all who mourn his passing:

The virtuous man, though he die before his time, will find rest.

Length of days is not what makes age honorable, nor number of years the true measure of life; coming to perfection in so short a while, he achieved long life; his soul being pleasing to the Lord, He has taken him quickly from the wickedness around him.

Yet people look on, uncomprehending; it does not enter their heads that grace and mercy await the chosen of the Lord, and protection, His holy ones.

Once again, our Nation has lost a young and dedicated public servant whose example gave all of us, especially those of us in public life, an inspiration and respect that America's future would be right. Robert Kennedy had tremendous faith in the abilities of this country to overcome all adversities. He demonstrated this faith in his own personal life. I pray now most of all that the young people of this Nation will not be dissuaded from entering public service by his tragic death. But instead find the courage from his example of dedicated service to his country, and enter into solving the many problems about which he felt so strongly and which must be solved if we are to survive as a people and as a nation.

To Ethel, his wife, and to their children, I extend my profound sympathies and ask that God may watch over them and send them His choicest blessings and grace so that they may bear this cross.

Hon. Alexander Pirnie

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, we were all shocked and deeply grieved by the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. To his courageous wife and wonderful children, we extend our heartfelt sympathy. In this dark period, we hope that knowledge of

the affection in which he was held both at home and abroad will be a real source of comfort to them.

The many contributions to our Nation represented by the accomplishments of his brilliant, but only too brief, public career constitute a heritage of service which will be long remembered. His concern for America's future, his dedication to human brotherhood, and his enthusiasm inspired all of us.

Since 1964 when he became New York's junior Senator, I had the privilege and honor to work with him on matters of concern to the State and my district. His courtesy and cooperation made our common task easier and I have only happy memories of our association.

Robert Kennedy was more than a Senator from New York, a candidate for the presidential nomination of his party, he had stature as an international figure, recognized and respected in many lands around the world. From this unusual constituency came heavy demands which he accepted unhesitatingly and did his best to meet. To most men, the sheer awesomeness of this burden would have been discouraging, to him it represented a great challenge. Ironically, it was while in its pursuit that he was assassinated.

The very circumstances of his death constitute a warning for those who remain; namely, to make the United States secure and safe, a land free of fear and violence. Our country must regain its unity of purpose if its continuing greatness is to be assured. May this sobering tragedy speed the day.

The expressions of sorrow throughout our Nation have taken many forms but I am confident that none have been more sincere and spontaneous than that of the teenage community in my district. Under the leadership of Roberta Gordon of my home city, Utica, N.Y., 20 scrolls having over 5,000 signatures set forth their admiration of the late Senator and their sense of personal grief. I am proud of this dedicated effort by this young lady which provided an opportunity for such a genuine expression of sympathy and the determination that the youth of our Nation would remain faithful to our highest national ideals working for the advancement of mankind. This awareness of responsibility in our younger generation gives promise for the years ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I and my wife, Mildred, extend to the grieving family our deepest sympathy.

Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in mourning the death of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. Words are insufficient for our grief for we mourn not only for the great and good man who lived, but also for all that might have been.

The great poet, John Donne wrote:

Any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind.

We have all lost something with the death of Robert Kennedy and our loss assumes the proportions and character of tragedy; the Nation has lost one of its most able and dedicated leaders, a man devoted to justice and fearless in pursuit of the right.

The light that seemed to go out when the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated was rekindled by his brother. The torch was seized and carried high, creating light in the darkness and giving hope to the lost.

Robert Kennedy was a Senator from New York, but his constituency was not bounded by State lines; it included the entire Nation and beyond. He represented the poor, the oppressed, the silent, and the ignored.

He saw the ills of our society, the inequities and injustices that have no place in our democracy, and with equal clarity he saw that his duty lay in trying to end them. He was tireless in working toward that goal.

He was not forced to take the path he did; but there was a need that he do so, not imposed from the outside, but emanating from his own character, his strong devotion to duty, his great sense of morality, and his abundant compassion.

It was this obvious compassion that won the hearts and loyalty of the least fortunate of our citizens. Robert Kennedy cared about people and they sensed his concern.

He gave the poor, the oppressed, the deprived, hope. He was a man who would not sit by and moan fate or curse the evil he saw. He was a man of action, a man who promised change.

His eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, who knew, loved, and understood Robert Kennedy,

eulogized Robert Kennedy the man and Robert Kennedy the hope of the poor. He said:

To a generation that was weary, he symbolized strength; to those confused, he pointed a way; for those drifting, he set a course; to those heavy with years, he offered his youth; to those despairing, he was a figure of promise.

The grief of his death becomes tragedy if that promise is unfulfilled. Robert F. Kennedy can no longer keep that promise of hope. Only the living have that power; only we can make what might have been come to fruition. We are obliged, for the sake of right, to do so.

It is not solely a matter of keeping faith with the dead, but of pledging ourselves to live up to ourselves and our traditions. We must, as the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King urged, fulfill the promise of America and make the American dream a reality of all our citizens.

The anguish of Robert Kennedy's death is worldwide, for he was loved by the peoples of all nations. Perhaps his family may find some solace in that. The Irish poet, Padraic Pearse, about to be executed for his fight in behalf of his country and people, wrote a poem about his own mother. It seems to me to be appropriate for the remarkable Kennedy family that has given too many of its children in the struggle for justice, he wrote:

Lord, I do not grudge my two sons that I have seen go out to break their strength and die, they and a few, in bloody protest for a glorious thing. They shall be spoken of among their people: the generations shall remember them and call them blessed. But I will speak their names to my own heart in the long nights, the little names that were familiar once round my dead hearth. Though I grudge them not, I weary, weary of the long sorrow. And yet, I have my joy. They were faithful, and they fought.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was faithful and fought. Let us pray that the few fighting for a glorious thing become many, and that the sympathy we extend to his family turns into action, so that his last child, as yet unborn, shall be born into a world that has cured itself.

Hon. Brock Adams
OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Speaker, today it is hard for some of us as we look around the Chamber to recognize those who are here and who have been with us in support of Senator Kennedy because we do not see very well through our tears. We have probably been impetuous and sometimes wrong,

but perhaps our critics will forgive us for wishing to return with him to Camelot.

We are here to say to his family how much we appreciated him; how glad we are that he was here; and how much we will miss him. We also ask for a little bit of forgiveness for not having done a little more for him. We believed in him. We believe in his principles. We believe in the enlightenment and desire for justice and the belief in our society that he so strongly maintained.

Some of us looked for a leader in the 1950's and we were inspired and led by the Kennedy brothers. After the death of John Kennedy many of us felt we could not and should not try again. Robert Kennedy was one who made us try to pick up the pieces of a dream. He helped us pick up those fragile pieces, and this is what makes the future so very, very difficult.

The past is prolog but because of this past I would like to talk for a moment today to the young who are so hurt, to the disaffected in our society who are so discouraged, and to my friends from the Department of Justice who served with me under Bob Kennedy who are so distraught. We shall miss Bob Kennedy's leadership because of his strength, but above all we shall miss his friendship which came from a basic integrity, a fundamental shyness and a deep capacity for camaraderie and loyalty. Only those who did not know Bob Kennedy could have felt that he was anything but a compassionate, kind man with a wry sense of humor. Some have said we were wrong to rally to his support, but I am so glad we did, and now as we miss his leadership perhaps we might say:

Our lamp is lit, our lights are low.
As homeward with our shields we go,
We light our candles row by row
From the fallen torch's glow.

I hope we remember and that we live with the things he said. We must continue the struggle to change our society to something better. We must be willing to establish new policies. Those of us who are affluent must understand that the Nation has given much to us, and the Nation should be given a chance to provide from its great bounty for all of our people.

There may be some meaning to this all, but this is not yet revealed to us. It will take time, and for now the words of Shakespeare set forth in

Romeo and Juliet probably express our sadness most appropriately:

When he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars,
And he will make the face of heaven so fine
That all the world will be in love with night,
And pay no worship to the garish sun.

All of us and our families, and particularly our children—who believed in him so deeply—want to express and extend our deepest sympathies to the entire Kennedy family, but particularly to Mrs. Kennedy and the children.

Hon. James C. Cleveland OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Speaker, the news of the death of Senator Robert Kennedy came to me with deep sadness and a sense of national loss. It was a tragic, senseless crime, a crime without meaning, born out of hate. My heart goes out to his family who once again must bear the grief caused by an assassin's bullet.

These are, indeed, times that try men's souls. And, indeed, these are times when we should search our souls. We offer prayers and sympathy for Mrs. Kennedy and her children, but surely we must do more. For senseless violence and shocking crime is not confined to the men who hold high office, although it is true that when they are struck down, the impact may seem more sharply focused and the tragedy more dramatic. The fact is that violence and disrespect for the law have reached proportions that cry aloud for redress.

Surely our prayers and sympathy for Senator Kennedy's family will be more meaningful if they are matched by a resolve and determination to frontally assault the root causes of the evil.

One of the most thoughtful eulogies that I have read since Robert Kennedy died appeared in a New Hampshire newspaper, the Plymouth Record. It was written by the Reverend Bayard Hancock, vicar of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Plymouth, and I include it in the Record:

EULOGY TO SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY

Robert F. Kennedy, junior Senator from the State of New York and a leading contender for the Presidency of these United States, has been taken from us by an assassin's bullet. And we as individuals and as a nation, have been deprived of more than we are able to realize at this time—not only by his death but by the manner of that

death. Somehow some way or ways must be found to stop the present trend among us to settle differences of opinion by violence rather than by reasoned debate and free elections.

Senator Kennedy was a young but skillful and accomplished politician. He also showed great promise of developing into the very sort of informed, hard-working, plain speaking dedicated statesman we must have if we are to solve successfully the many complex problems which confront us at home and abroad.

It is something less than a tribute to our national maturity that so many of us have allowed our emotional reactions to the controversial methods and opinions of Senator Kennedy to blind us to the obvious talents of the man and the merits of his position on a number of important questions.

Born into a wealthy and talented family, Senator Kennedy shunned the life of ease and luxury he might have enjoyed—and sought instead, to serve his country in high office, both appointive and elective. His efforts on our behalf cost him his life.

Nothing we can do now will bring him back. We can only commend him to his Creator and ours. But we can also see to it, each in his own way, that henceforth reasoned discussion of the issues and not emotional denunciations of candidates not to our liking shall be the hallmark of our political life as a nation.

Hon. William S. Moorhead OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker—

Few men are willing to brace the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle, or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential vital quality for those seeking to change a world that yields most painfully to change.—“To Seek a Newer World.”

ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Robert Kennedy had the physical courage of the bravest warrior.

Bob Kennedy took physical risks in his life whether he was skiing, shooting rapids, or climbing a mountain.

He was not afraid to challenge Jimmy Hoffa, nor to walk the riot torn streets of our cities; not afraid to challenge the status quo in his own party when campaigning for his brother, nor to speak up for the oppressed Indians; not afraid to speak out against our policies when he differed with them in Vietnam, nor to champion civil rights and equal opportunity; not afraid to set a new mood, even if it were not the popular thing to do.

He was also not afraid to show love for his fellow man, beginning with his own outstanding family, or to show his love for God, and trust in Him.

He believed with Terence, that “I am a man—nothing that concerns mankind is alien to me”; for a man to love his country, he must also know how to love mankind, and this must be the sustaining force in the search for a better world.

Standing at the Kennedy Memorial in Arlington Cemetery, which has become a double legacy of pride and sorrow to the Nation, we remember the inspiring words inscribed there from the inaugural address of President Kennedy:

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need, not as a call to battle, though embattled we are, but a call to bear the burden of a long, twilight struggle, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation,” a struggle against the common enemies of man, tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

This was the challenge Robert Kennedy dared to meet. He believed with Edmund Burke that nothing insures the triumph of evil more than good men who do nothing—and he was fond of saying, “men are not made for safe havens.”

In Robert Kennedys own words:

It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal or acts to improve the lot of others or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can speed down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

On that tragic saddened Saturday evening of June 1968, in Arlington Cemetery, I thought again of that tragic saddened November 1963. I looked across the Potomac to the memorial for our first assassinated President who, many years ago said:

* * * we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground * * * that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain * * *

Therefore, let us now resolve that John F. and Robert F. Kennedy shall not have died in vain and, eschewing “safe havens,” dedicate our lives to the causes for which they lived and died.

Hon. John S. Monagan
OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. Speaker, today we mark the distinguished life and tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. A man of strong political positions, he worked vigorously and creatively as a member of the Cabinet, and a Member of the Congress, in the cause of civil rights, justice, and human welfare and dignity.

As Attorney General, Robert Kennedy advanced the importance of our civil rights laws by pressing for their implementation in areas and situations where their guarantees had long been denied. His courage and dedication in this effort became linked with the movement for social progress in this decade, and he earned the distinction of being a leader and guiding force in that movement.

Senator Kennedy's efforts in Congress went beyond those of improving legal safeguards and standards. They also included a very personal dedication to the service of the underprivileged and needy minorities in our country. He became their spokesman when few others would, and did much to incorporate their pleas and problems in the fabric of American political life.

I knew him well, and admired him for his endurance, enthusiasm, and dedication as a political campaigner. He exemplified the Kennedy family's dedication to public service, and added to it his own gusto and a conviction to live life to the full. And he tempered his usual exuberance with calls for reason and good sense. It is a tragic irony that he should have been struck down by the passion of unreason while in the prime of his career and the glory of his political achievement.

But, though we mourn his death we should not despair. We can yet appreciate the goals for which he fought. I earnestly hope that we can at least retrieve from his tragic death a renewed dedication to reason in government and against the current trend that would solve personal and national problems by illegality and violence.

Though we mourn the death of Robert F. Kennedy today, we may yet praise his life and honor his memory.

Hon. Cornelius E. Gallagher
OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, his words linger on even in death:

Some see things as they are and say, "Why?"

He saw a world filled with suffering and violence; a Nation becoming increasingly divided into angry factions; a Republic which had still failed to make its promised dream a reality.

He did not despair; he sought change.

To the unrepresented in America, he acted as representative.

To the oppressed, he extended his hand.

To the Nation, he provided leadership.

To the peoples of the world, he brought hope.

And so he went to Los Angeles, carrying his same message:

What we need in this country is not violence * * * but compassion, and love * * *

Struck down in that very same city by the violence he had always deplored, his message remains and the love continues.

To his family, a husband and father above all else.

To his parents, a loyal and sensitive son.

To them and from them, love.

Now at rest in Arlington. But death has no sting, and the grave, no victory.

The words of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy will not die:

I dream things that never were, and say, "Why not?"

Hon. Don Fuqua
OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the tragic and senseless slaying of Senator Robert F. Kennedy shocked an entire Nation. Here was a man who was fighting for his ideas through the democratic process of elections, only to be struck down by a vicious coward.

In the short time I have served in the Congress, twice the Kennedy family has made the sad trek to Arlington Cemetery. The hearts of all America goes out first to them.

Who but a member of the family can know the heartbreak they have suffered?

One son never gained national recognition in his lifetime, but his contribution and sacrifice as a pilot in World War II was one of the countless young faces who gave their lives that we might continue to live in freedom.

The sharp and brilliant mind of President John F. Kennedy was silenced forever by an assassin. Who could have known at that time how his brother would attempt to pick up a fallen torch? Robert F. Kennedy also fell to the bullet of a mindless assassin.

Theirs was not a meaningless sacrifice. Despite their youth in years, these men left an imprint on the history of this Nation and our heritage. We are the losers because they are gone.

I feel strongly that men of many persuasions should be active in our political life to give vitality to our institutions. I represent a philosophy that many of my colleagues disagree with—others agree. I learn, however, from those with whom I disagree as they present their case.

Bob Kennedy was presenting his case to the American people and the American people found the Kennedy magic in this young Senator.

The outpouring of grief as his funeral train traveled from New York to Washington was one of the most brilliant tributes of all time. No one can put into words the impact of that moment when the words of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" rang out spontaneously as the train passed solemnly through a packed terminal.

Something about America must be said in the arrest of his alleged assassin. Every effort is being made to see that he is given a fair trial under the law.

It would seem to me that a nation that would go as far as we have attempted to do in this case is due some credit as being a people who believe in a "government of laws and not of men."

Senator Robert F. Kennedy is gone. His trials are over. It is for those of us remaining to seek a new world that never was because we, too, wonder why not.

Hon. Edward J. Derwinski

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, the shocking murder of Senator Robert Kennedy was a tragedy that followed in the terrible pattern of lawlessness, disrespect for authority and deliberate rejection of law and

order which have been permitted to sweep the country in recent years. Violence is contrary to our Nation's political principles and the tragic death of Senator Kennedy affected us all.

Mrs. Derwinski and I have known Senator Kennedy and his family and we extend to Mrs. Kennedy and the children our deepest sympathy.

When a Nation receives a terrible shock such as this murder caused, we properly must reassess the situation and in this instance strongly resolve to halt the violence and anarchy which is sweeping the land. The bullet is not a substitute for the ballot. We have been a law-abiding Nation, respecting the framework of our constitutional government and the opportunity that our system gives to those who devote themselves to public service and civic accomplishment. Senator Kennedy was a spirited national leader with a record of service and accomplishment known to all. I hope and pray that this tragic event will properly influence all Americans to support and maintain law and order within the framework of our proven established institutions.

Senator Kennedy made a lasting mark during his career of public service, and like his brother, our late President, he was a very effective member of the legislative branch of the Government.

We who had the opportunity to serve with him certainly recognized his unusual qualities and interests. His murder is a great loss to the Nation.

Hon. Lester L. Wolff

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, there are not words with which any among us can adequately express our sorrow at the death of the very distinguished Senator from New York, Robert Francis Kennedy.

One might think the unfortunate events of recent years would have steeled us against assassination. This has not happened. And now we attempt to reiterate to the Senator's family our sincerest condolences. I am sure they will understand how genuinely all America shares their grief.

Senator Kennedy, in 17 years of service in the Federal Government, distinguished himself in both the executive and legislative branches. He demonstrated judgment beyond his years and the energy of a man half his years. Blessed with unusual wisdom, he brought to public service his

selfless and enduring commitment to the ideals that have long been part of the American dream.

A dreamer and a realist both, Senator Kennedy worked to turn dreams into realities. He worked to make the promise of American life come true for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I mourn profoundly the death of this great public figure, this U.S. Senator, this proud father, this human being, my friend Bob.

Hon. John G. Dow

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, in this time of ferment when many minorities, not the least of them being young people, are questioning the premises of our society, Robert F. Kennedy was a mighty bridge that reached from the core leadership to the fringe of dissent.

Now that this towering bridge has been struck down so suddenly and so needlessly, it is difficult to cite even a few who can serve us now as the bridges we need so badly.

I admired and supported Robert F. Kennedy for many reasons. Some of these I list below.

His foremost strength was a wide understanding of the problems of the classes in the society that are suffering the most. He recognized the problems of racial minorities, and they responded because they perceived his sincerity. He was one of the few who looked after American Indians and persons of the Spanish-speaking segment. He visited the starving and underprivileged persons on the fringe of American society. The wonder of it all is that he reached into these areas not because of firsthand experience or origin there, but because of his vision and compassion.

Senator Kennedy understood better than most American leaders the proper role and position of the United States in the community of nations. He knew that we could not be a world policeman, but must continue those programs of help and accommodation to the needs of lesser nations that were instituted by his brother, the late President. He knew that such ventures as our involvement in Vietnam were leading us on the wrong path. He knew that this course must be reversed. He understood that our relations to the 2 billion people who are part of the revolution of rising expectations have to be just as com-

passionate and helpful as our efforts to aid our own countrymen who are still in distress.

Senator Kennedy was a great navigator in the rough seas of practical politics. He was a captain on the ship of state. He knew how to direct the ship and command the crew.

Senator Kennedy was also a buoyant and vibrant young man who offered no apology for his vigor. He put it to the use, not of browbeating others, but to aid those least able to help themselves.

As a somewhat close associate of the Senator, I deeply deplore his passing. He supported me on many occasions, including trips into my district. In turn, it was a satisfaction for me to support him. I only wish that he were still here; that I might support him still because of the great causes that he valiantly attacked.

Hon. Frank Horton

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker—

Perhaps the early grave which men weep over may be meant to save.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in the House today to pay tribute to a dedicated public servant. Robert Francis Kennedy was struck down and slain without compassion. Yet, he was a person who was driven by compassion for his fellow human beings. Many have described him as complex, intellectual and courageous, but quite simply, in the words of his brother Edward, Robert Francis Kennedy was a man who saw wrong and tried to make it right. He was an individual who felt a tremendous obligation to the people he served, being relentlessly driven by his conscience to do even more.

But Robert Kennedy was denied the right to pursue his dreams by a senseless and brutal slaying. It was senseless because we know that bullets cannot eclipse accomplishments any more than they can wipe out the memory of a man. History will record favorably Robert Kennedy's achievements. With equal favor he will be remembered for his drive, his energy, his leadership, and his compassion for others.

We all mourn his loss. We mourn it deeply because we realize that the brutal act of violence that took his life struck the foundation of our cherished rights. Freedom of thought, freedom of

speech and action were seared to the very core by the same red hot bullet that took the life of Robert Kennedy.

Mr. Speaker, I am not here before you today to dwell on violence. I am here to describe a life dedicated to principle, to tell of an heir to a tradition of fierce competition and a striving for excellence and to talk of a man who dared to pursue his dreams with vigor. As the youngest Attorney General since Richard Rush, his determination and ability soon dispelled any doubts as to his qualifications. His attack on organized crime was a thorough, relentless pursuit which resulted in the creation of the Office of Criminal Justice in the Justice Department and a book exposing the nature and power of organized crime. "The Enemy Within" shows that Robert Kennedy sought to eliminate crime as if it were the devil itself. He gave no quarter and took no quarter.

In the field of foreign affairs, Robert Kennedy was no less distinguished. Appointed by his brother, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, to investigate the failure of the Bay of Pigs enterprise in 1961, Robert soon proved himself an able ambassador of good will. He was sent on many ambassadorial missions by his brother in 1962 and he won friends for the United States by his astute and able statesmanship. The cease-fire which he negotiated between Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia over the creation of the Malaysian Federation dispute was a great victory for Robert Kennedy, the Nation, and the world.

When Robert Kennedy was elected to the U.S. Senate from New York in 1964, he proved to be an able vote-getter. He emerged from the shadow of his famous brother and came into increasing personal prominence as a champion of the poor. His increasing concern for the poor, the minorities, the downtrodden and the forgotten elevated Robert Kennedy from the status of an astute and able public servant to that of an impassioned humanitarian. Giving people an opportunity in life became his trademark.

Robert Kennedy had little patience for those who did not give fully of themselves.

He was a demanding and forceful man who expected others to exert their maximum effort in the quest of excellence as he did. A man of action, Robert Kennedy was also a man of understanding.

Robert Kennedy was fearsome in combat, but not false, vindictive, or ruthless. Some say he lacked humor, yet anyone who heard him in his last campaign can attest that humor was a commodity which he often utilized at his own expense. He was a passionate man, expressing his views on poverty, world affairs and domestic issues as passionately as he pursued the causes that he deemed just. He was capable of changing his mind. Because he was flexible enough to grow.

If there is anything that describes the tragedy of Robert Kennedy, it is that he knew, as did his heroes of ancient Grecian tragedy, that life holds no easy way nor promise of safe refuge. A man committed to the living must live, and Robert Kennedy was committed to live for his fellow man. He tried to answer their needs.

And so we mourn his passing, even as we must rejoice for his having been given to us. And though he was young, and on the threshold of great achievement, we must take solace in the spirit of human compassion which he evoked in the hearts of all of us. Lord Byron, who also died in the cause of freedom, said:

"Whom the gods love die young" was said of yore,
And many deaths do they escape by this
The death of friends, and that which slays even more—
The death of friendship, love, youth, all that is,
Except mere breath; and since the silent shore
Awaits at last even those who longest miss
The old archer's shafts, perhaps the early grave
Which men weep over may be meant to save.

His family will miss him, even as shall we, his colleagues, miss him. And yet, we take inspiration from his own vision of greatness, a vision of the nobility of the human soul, and the right of that soul to freedom, and dignity, and the good life. He said one time:

The free way of life * * * believes that men advance by discussion, by debate, by trial and error. It believes that the best ideas come, not from edict and ideology, but from free inquiry and free experiment; and it regards dissent, not as treason to the state, but as the tested mechanism of social progress. And it knows that diverse nations will find diverse roads to the general goal of political independence and economic growth. It regards the free individual as the source of creativity, and believes that it is the role of the state to serve him, and not his role to serve the state.—Chicago, August 1963.

We honor his memory by rededicating ourselves to the ideals of individual freedom and human worth. We do not idealize Robert Ken-

nedy; we remember him as a man of generous spirit, who tried to infect others with that generosity, as a man of uncommon concern for the aspirations of suffering humanity.

Hon. Benjamin S. Rosenthal

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, much has been said about the tragic assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and many ideas have been voiced about an appropriate monument to this young man who was so dedicated to his country and to a peaceful world.

No one has said it more eloquently than Mr. I. L. Kenen, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, in the June 11 issue of the Near East Report. His article, "Let Peace Be His Monument," is an outstanding tribute to Senator Kennedy, and I include it at this point in the Congressional Record.

I call it to the attention of all those who mourn his passing, but who are equally determined to bring about that peace of which he dreamed.

The article follows:

LET PEACE BE HIS MONUMENT

There will be many monuments to the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. None would be as significant or as enduring as a renewed dedication to the struggle for peace.

For that was what he was seeking—in Southeast Asia, in the Near East and in our own country. He wanted an Arab-Israel peace and he wanted America to be the friend of Arabs as well as Israelis.

If we are to serve that purpose sincerely, if we truly seek harmony and understanding between peoples, religions, races and nations, we must steadfastly reject the evil doctrine of collective guilt. We should not permit grief and bitterness to find expression in rancor and hostility.

Spurning accusations of collective guilt, we must nevertheless recognize that we all share a collective responsibility for the future—to do what we can to end the hatreds which are brutalizing mankind and which have wantonly triggered death for the great and for the multitudes in many lands.

We should suspend judgment on the reasons for Kennedy's murder. There is no evidence that Sirhan Sirhan, the young Jordanian accused of the crime, acted at the instigation of any one person or group. Until the trial—and perhaps not even then—we cannot be certain of his motivations.

Was he impelled by a personal paranoia? A national paranoia? Was he influenced by the unhappy circumstances of his youth in Jerusalem? Or by the frustrations of his

life in Pasadena? Was he swept by the wave of violence which has tarnished the American scene with a bloody stain? Was he driven by the hatred of Jews, of Americans, of himself of humanity? Was he ambitious to become a "hero" in the Arab world?

As a nation we have been stunned and shocked by the succession of brutal assassinations in our own country. We must try to learn reasons and remedies. But we should not lose our balance in masochistic self-accusation.

Violence is not peculiar to the American scene; assassination is a worldwide and age-old phenomenon. (The word has its roots in hashish, the drug which intoxicated a secret order of religious fanatics, the "assassins" who flourished in Persia and Syria centuries ago.)

The Soviet press has self-righteously attacked the United States for disclosing that Sirhan is a foreigner as an attempt to transfer blame to "foreign circles." But Communist history is replete with political murder as the fate of Lenin, Trotsky, Kirov—and many others—records.

The gun has changed many governments in the Arab world in recent years. Assassination ended the regimes of 12 heads of states in six Arab countries since the end of World War II. And there have been many recent assassination attempts, including one against the Christian Lebanese leader Camille Chamoun as recently as May 31, one against Nasser on May 2, one against Boumedienne on April 25.

It was an Arab propagandist who was quick to link the Kennedy assassination with the Arab-Israel conflict.

Within hours of the news of Sirhan's identity, Mohammed T. Medhi, the secretary-general of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations in New York, put out an insensitive statement in which he speculated that Sirhan may have been inflamed as a result of Kennedy's support for Israel in the television debate with Senator Eugene J. McCarthy on June 1.

"It is this disrespect for the human Arab person which brings about this kind of violence," he said. "We condemn the fact that Senator Kennedy had kowtowed to the Zionist pressure to the detriment of American interest in the Middle East as we condemn the act of Mr. Sirhan."

[A short time later, newspapers quoted Sirhan's acquaintances in Pasadena that he hated Jews and Israel. And there was Mayor Yorty's disclosure that Sirhan's diary included an entry that Kennedy must be killed before June 5, the anniversary of the war.]

We quote Mehdi's statements because it is necessary to set the record straight and challenge his distortion.

Differing with Medhi, Al Destour, a leading Jordanian paper, told its readers: "Well-informed Arabs had been hoping for a better understanding in the United States if Kennedy had been elected."

The record should be clear. Kennedy's attitude toward Israel was not unique. He was reflecting the views of most Americans. All the major candidates for the Presidency were agreed that the United States should send arms to Israel; and this—not because of any hostility to the Arabs—but because there is an urgent need to offset the arms which the Soviet Union has been sending to the area; and this—not because we want war—but because we want to prevent it. All the candidates wanted negotiations and peace.

Friendship for Israel does not mean hostility to the Arabs. Americans accept this as self-evident. But there is

an Arab proverb which holds that "the friend of my enemy is my enemy." That has long been the major collision point in U.S.-Arab relations.

The record of Robert Kennedy and of the Kennedy family certainly belies this Arab dogma. The late President Kennedy was a friend of Zionism and Israel; yet he was able to win the confidence of President Nasser and to help the Egyptian people and their economy. Senator Edward Kennedy has devoted many hours and days and weeks to intensive study of the Arab refugee problem.

In one of his first legislative acts early in 1965, after he became a Senator, Robert Kennedy objected to a drastic House amendment to terminate aid to Egypt. He felt this was a matter for the White House to decide.

In a statement given to constituents on June 8, 1967 in Washington, on the fourth day of the war, he said:

"Let us hold out our hand of friendship to the Arab peoples, so long living in poverty and disease and misery, so long the tools of irresponsible propaganda, so long the greatest losers from the military adventures of their leaders."

And in a statement submitted April 29 for publication in the Near East Report, Kennedy declared:

"We must aid and encourage those Arab leaders who turn away from war, and lend our finest minds and efforts to elimination of poverty, hunger and despair in the Arab lands."

Just a year ago, on June 12, 1967, both Kennedy and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller were denounced at the UN because Arab diplomats then blamed the United States for Israel's victory.

Kennedy reacted mildly and temperately. The Middle East, Kennedy said, would be better served "if the Saudi Arabian delegate and his government and all governments paid more attention to the need for economic development and permanent peace than to criticism of political figures in the United States."

American political leadership has always been the victim of two irrational obsessions: first that the United States was hostile to the Arabs; and second that American support for Israel was dictated by mercenary politicians seeking personal preferment at the expense of national interest.

On this premise, which impugns the integrity and honesty of all U.S. political leadership, Arab propagandists have bolstered their hope that America would some day abandon Israel. It has been a propaganda tactic calculated to embarrass Americans into diminution or disavowal of their support for Israel. Americans have tended to brush this petty polemic aside.

But a tactic based on malicious distortion can be escalated into taunts, threats, intimidation and, finally, terror.

Perhaps the tragedy of these days may bring about a sober reassessment, a reconsideration of irresponsible propaganda tactics which defame the American people and our political leadership.

There is some hope for this.

Responsible Arab diplomats here and in their home capitals have been swift to deplore Sirhan's role in Kennedy's death and to repudiate him. He is not acclaimed as an Arab patriot, if that was his ambition. A Lebanese workman has said that he would have done better by

enlisting in the El Fatah, the terrorist organization (which kills Israelis, not Americans).

In Amman last Sunday, King Hussein said the assassination had left him "most deeply shocked and nauseated," that Senator Kennedy was "a friend" and a person he admired, and that there was nothing to suggest that the assassination was anything more than an individual act by a young man whose "contact with this part of the world ended when he left here as a child."

[Hussein himself has been the object of many assassination attempts. He listed 13 in his autobiography in 1962. He was a witness in 1951 when his grandfather, King Abdullah, was murdered because, it was claimed, he had been willing to make peace with Israel. Indeed, it is often said that Hussein and other Arab leaders might have reached accord with Israel long ago if not for the fear of assassination.]

In contrast with Hussein's responsible reaction to the shooting, there is a rabid fringe which, as always, blames the Zionists for a plot to undermine Arab-U.S. relations.

Four years ago, some Arab publications (e.g. the Scribe, published in Cairo) were insisting that President Kennedy was the victim of the Zionists—as were Lincoln and McKinley!

Now, in the same anti-Semitic fantasy, the Beirut daily Al Kifah has claimed that the assassination was a Jewish plot to keep Kennedy from the White House where "he would have discovered that the Jews were behind the murder of President Kennedy."

We would like to believe that such preposterous ranting is the view of an insignificant lunatic fringe. There are saner voices in the Arab world.

Hate propaganda and terrorism do not respect or recognize boundaries and they can travel fast and far in this time of swift communication.

We recall the frightening rise of anti-Semitism in America and in other lands—including the Arab countries—in the 1930's, when the noxious Nazi poison began to spread across frontiers and around the world. (Sirhan's father last week recalled that his son often said that he admired Hitler.)

No one dreamed when Hitler seized power in 1933 that many millions would be doomed by his preaching.

We need to do more—so much more—to combat hate incitement everywhere, for it spreads everywhere. We cannot be indifferent or neutral on issues involving life and death, peace and war, tyranny and freedom. We cannot live in dignity with the cynical doctrine that foreign and domestic policies must be determined by material and security interests and drained of moral consideration.

We look forward to the day when Jew and Arab may sit together in cooperation and peace. That is what Senator Kennedy was urging. And that is what his martyrdom may yet bequeath to humanity.

Hon. Philip J. Philbin
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, the entire world and the Nation was rocked, stunned, and plunged into widespread, intense grief and sorrow by the news of

the cruel, merciless assassination of our beloved friend and great national leader, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, of New York.

Like many others who knew and admired this fine, dedicated, dynamic young man, I am profoundly touched by his tragic passing and the tremendous loss suffered by his bereaved family, and all of us who knew and loved him.

His passing before the prime of life is, in truth, a tragedy of first magnitude. It strikes not only at the hearts of his family and his friends. It has plunged an overwhelming number of people everywhere into a state of shock, deepest sorrow, and prayerful sympathy for the afflicted family and a real sense of the great loss the country has sustained.

Robert Kennedy had a wonderful career in the public service. Of most distinguished heritage, he was a brilliant lawyer and one of our greatest Attorneys General.

He was almost a constant companion, confidant, and counsel of his late, lamented brother, one of the most illustrious of all of our Presidents, who in his relatively short regime captured the respect and admiration of the people of our own country, and of all lands, as no American President had previously done.

Senator Kennedy's career in the U.S. Senate was typified by exceptional achievement for the cause of vital, forward-looking government for the American people, and for the peoples of the world.

At the time of his passing, he had just won a crucial political victory in the great State of California, which assured him an excellent chance of securing the Democratic nomination, and under these circumstances, he would unquestionably have had an excellent chance of being elected to the highest office in this land.

It is impossible for me to express my deep feelings of anguish and frustration about this terrible misdeed that has taken from our midst, and from American public life, one of the most brilliant and promising leaders and figures we have ever known.

With a very heavy heart and a grieving spirit, I extend to his wonderful wife and lovely family, his devoted father and mother, his illustrious brother, Senator Ted Kennedy, his gracious sisters, and all their dear ones, my prayerful, very deep sympathy for their truly irreparable loss, which is, indeed, the loss of all of us who knew,

admired, and loved this great and gifted young man.

I sorrowfully join them in mourning him, and know that the good Lord will take him to His own and keep him in His eternal home.

Hon. Don Edwards

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to comprehend how any family could bear the tragic burdens which have been visited on the Kennedy family. That a family so dedicated to public service and to righting the wrongs of our society can have two of their sons' lives snuffed out quickly and violently in that society is not only a personal but a national shame and disaster.

Robert Kennedy, however, never allowed despair and hopelessness to drain his vitality and determination. He was deeply concerned for the people who saw him as their own—the Mexican American living in the barrios of San Jose and east Los Angeles, the migrant farm laborer sweating the fields for a pittance, the impoverished Negro of the big city ghetto or the remote southern rural slum, and the children whose potbellies and skinny legs are the gruesome signs of malnutrition and hunger. The leadership of Robert Kennedy was not limited to poor people, however, but extended to all Americans who hope for a better world—for a more just society here at home and for more understanding between all nations. Indeed, it was his hope for international peace and brotherhood which made him a symbol of trust and promise for the world community. All of us—all Americans and all foreign citizens—share the grief and loss of his family, and I would hope that we rededicate ourselves to the kind of world he wanted and worked for.

Expression of the concern and feelings of so many Americans, I think, is to be found in a verse sent to me by my good friend from San Jose, Mr. Leon Grossman. I would like to insert this verse into the Congressional Record at this time, as follows:

THE FINAL WHISTLESTOP

The cheering crowds grow larger
The outstretched hands reach up
As the campaign train draws closer
Toward the final whistlestop.

All eyes are on the Senator
 All ears tuned to his voice
 All hope is pinned upon this man
 The common people's choice.
 For love, for peace, for brotherhood
 These ideals he unfurled,
 In truth and light he labored
 To seek a newer world.
 And now the train moves slowly
 To strains of mournful throngs
 As tearful prayers of thousands
 Sing final tribute songs.
 For Robert Francis Kennedy
 A burning flame atop
 As the long train draws closer
 To the final whistlestop.

Hon. Julia Butler Hansen
 OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Speaker, it is with sorrow today that I join my distinguished colleagues in the House of Representatives to express my deepest sympathy to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy was a friend of all of us in the State of Washington. Far more than that, however, he was the friend and good neighbor to every citizen in the world.

He could well have chosen another kind of life. Instead, he gave his life to public service.

Every troubled area in this land of ours and in the lands beyond ours knew his presence because it was the presence of the spirit, of a relentless urge to solve the problems facing this troubled world.

To millions of human beings he brought hope and encouragement, and a particular kind of love that is the richest and deepest meaning of Christianity.

May we today, as we pay tribute to the man who so loved others that he gave his life for them, dedicate ourselves to solving the problems he urged us to solve, and understanding as he understood humanity's deep cry for decency and goodness.

Hon. Garner E. Shriver
 OF KANSAS

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mrs. Shriver, myself, and my constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas, I wish to express the heartfelt

sympathy of all of us to the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

We still feel the shock of the terrible and senseless act of violence which took his life.

Words cannot adequately provide consolation at a time like this. Too many times we have had to extend sympathy to the Kennedy family. The price for their public service and devotion to America has been exorbitantly high.

The death of Senator Kennedy once again dramatizes how much our Nation needs to return to respect for law and order. As I stated on the day of this tragedy, every citizen individually must move to heal the hate and division in our country.

Although our political beliefs were different, we share the love and confidence in America which he expressed so adequately during those final hours of triumph 2 weeks ago when he stated:

We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country.

America is a better country because Robert F. Kennedy walked among us.

Hon. Louis C. Wyman
 OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. Speaker, early in the 18th century, when this young Nation was not yet a reality, but the goal of a certain segment of American colonial society, Thomas Paine, in a series of critical essays, wrote "These are the times that try men's souls." His thesis of government as outlined in "Commonsense" made him one of the most beloved as well as hated individuals in the Colonies. Whether he was right or wrong seemed at the time not to matter greatly with those who read Paine, for they saw in him an instrument to "set the record straight." In other words, Mr. Speaker, his talent to draw upon the ills of American Colonial Government and place them squarely in the lap of an English Parliament was without peer in the Colonies. Perhaps more than any other one individual, Thomas Paine helped organize the American Revolution and to set right that which he and his followers felt was grossly wrong. For this reason, Tom Paine wrote his place in history.

Almost 200 years later, another American—one known to many of the world's citizenry—

began to write his place into the books judging American actions and American individuals. Like Paine, he, too, had thoughts on the processes of government and what was wrong in a society which needed change. But, unlike Paine, he did not survive the poison in society which he felt needed attention and assistance. He died in the course of a brilliant political career at the age of 42, unable to bring about the attitude of change which he felt would make this Nation a better one for all Americans.

Someone once described Robert Kennedy as one not unlike a giant tree in an electrical storm—gathering about him all the dissident voices, yet standing alone to face the wrath of nature to send a charged bolt to the very spot on which he stood. This was a rough but not imprecise analogy of a man who deeply loved his country and its institutions.

Mr. Speaker, it matters not whether we agreed with his views, it matters not whether we approved of his goals or the methods he chose to achieve them; we are all deeply saddened by the senseless act which has removed Senator Kennedy from our midst. It is truly with a heavy heart that we individually and as a people mourn his passing and extend our deepest sympathies to his wife, Ethel; to his children; to his brother and sisters and parents, all of whom have endured tragedy beyond our powers to comprehend. Robert Kennedy is gone, but his memory will linger on and his influence and ideals will be echoed in the years and generations to come.

Hon. John Brademas OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, all across our country, and indeed throughout the world, memorial services were conducted following the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy this month.

Among these services was one conducted in the capital city of my State, Indianapolis, Ind. Both our distinguished colleagues, Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr., and Mayor Richard G. Lugar, of Indianapolis, addressed this service.

Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent heretofore granted, I insert at this point in the Record the prayers and remarks delivered on this occasion:

ROBERT F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL SERVICE,
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., JUNE 9, 1968

INVOCATION BY RABBI MURRAY SALTZMAN,
INDIANAPOLIS HEBREW CONGREGATION

O Thou who dost comfort the afflicted and sustain the bereaved, we pray that Thy hand may uphold the sorrowing wife, children, and family of Robert F. Kennedy.

No more than the service of his country was the aspiration of Robert F. Kennedy. No less than the freeing of men from immemorial bonds of poverty, despair, bigotry and futility was the goal of Robert F. Kennedy. We mourn the stillness of his voice, the loss of his vigor, the absence of his determined presence. O America, you lie wounded and we shudder with grief for a precious son has been slain.

Yet let us not forget that this nation and its ideals were the germinating influences molding Robert Kennedy's refined commitments. He fed from the storehouse of America's spiritual granaries. He was given sight by America's bold vision. His discernment was born of her perception. His faith was inspired by her catechism of liberty and justice for all.

O God, in our grief we turn, as he turned, to America. In her was his trust. In her shall rest our confidence. Even as she spoke to him, she speaks now to us. We hear her speak in phrases hallowed by the martyrs who have lived and died so that she might greatly serve mankind.

Bowed by our sorrow, in Thy presence, Lord of all, we courageously move toward a new day when compassion and love shall unite us all. This nation conceived in the affirmation of human dignity and the uncompromised value of human life, gathers strength from that for which Robert F. Kennedy labored to realize. If there is any way that any of us can bring a degree of comfort to his bereaved family, surely it is through our consecrated dedication and renewed determination to move forward toward that end for which Robert Kennedy lived: The enthralling vision of a nation of free men divinely moved to establish justice, peace, and brotherhood in their midst.

SCRIPTURE BY THE VERY REVEREND FRANCIS R. TUOHY,
INDIANAPOLIS CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE

Father Tuohy's message included 3 readings:

1. Psalms 140, verses 1-4; 6-8 and 12-13.
2. Book of Wisdom (in Catholic Bible only), Chapter 4, verses 7-16.
3. Gospel of St. John, Chapter 12, verses 24-26.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE ANDREW JACOBS, JR.,
REPRESENTATIVE, 11TH DISTRICT

We gather together today to mourn the kind of event which three times in the lifetime of almost all of us has pierced our hearts with unspeakable grief. From the beginning leaders who have lived, loved and taught the ways of peace have seldom been allowed to live or even die that way.

It was true of Lincoln. It was true of Kennedy, of Evers, of King and now of Kennedy again.

How can one escape the conclusion that the most dangerous thing on this earth to do is preach love and kindness. And who makes it dangerous? I do. And you

do. Why? Two hundred million did not kill or want the killing to happen and, in fact, no American killed. All legal consequence relates to the one who performed the murder, still, "no man is an island." And the one who did fire the shot lived among us for a dozen years. So before we dismiss ourselves too lightly, perhaps we should reflect on just what we as a people have come to accept and even want on the part of those who speak publicly and those who entertain us.

None of the 200 million is morally responsible for unwitting negligence. But if after learning that our neglect can produce harm we continue that neglect, then according to the dogma of Dante, we are deserving of the hottest rung in hell.

Every time we fail to carry out the broad mandate of creation for self-control; every time we fail to control the natural temptation, born of fear and misunderstanding, to speak or print harsh words, we burn so much incense to the false god of violence.

"And sure it keeps their honor clean,
the learned Court believes.
They never gave a piece of plate to
murderers and thieves.
They never told the ramping crowd
to card a woman's hide.
They never marked a man for death,
what fault of theirs he died.
They only said he's awful
and talked and went their way.
By God, the boys who did the work
were better men than they."

—KIPLING.

What each person says and does is influenced in some measure by what is said and done around him. If one lives life surrounded by gentleness and love, his ability to control himself from acts of violence is greater. If he is surrounded by an atmosphere of hostility and hate, he is more likely to become a part of it and consider violence the thing to do in order to earn respect from those who have expressed hatred for the victim. Hateful and violent words are akin to hateful and violent deeds. The suspect in the killing of Dr. Martin Luther King is reported once to have said, "I'm going to kill Martin Luther King and get a bounty."

How do we measure up?

So the question occurs, how do we as a nation measure up on the scales of civilization in terms of gentle ideas and kind words? And the answer is that we could do better—very much better.

I don't think we are a sick society. Most of us very much do not want harm done to others. But in the busy lives most of us lead we may have become a nation of unintentional neglect, permitting ourselves and our children to be conditioned—even a bit hardened to violence.

A casual accounting of American habits in television and movies reveals a taste for violence which simply cannot and, according to a great share of a Congressman's mail, *is not* separated from American political attitudes.

While one channel shows "The Dirty Dozen," another runs film of Vietnam; and somehow the fiction and the reality merge and we begin to have difficulty distinguish-

ing one from the other. A newspaper finds it possible to refer to killing enemy soldiers as a "turkey shoot."

We give lip service to the term "gentleman."

But how many remember what the word means? A gentleman is a man who is gentle.

Yet harsh hatred is heaped upon a young Senator because he displays an inclination to take seriously the teaching of Christ: "love thy enemy" as well as friends.

It is possible to oppose without hating. And neither a nation nor a man can hate adversaries without having some of that hate spill over onto friends. Gentleness is not something to be ashamed of. Gentleness is not weakness. There is a difference between strength and brutality; between pride and arrogance.

It is a shameful commentary on the American volume of violence that in this century one-third of our Presidents have been targets for the assassin's bullet. It won't do to say that the general atmosphere of a country has nothing to do with political assassination. The fact is that the United States has had much more than its share of this sort of thing.

So what shall we do, we who are sick in our hearts from the grief that violence brings?

Improvement of our ability to apprehend and punish for violence already done is not enough, if we continue to accept for ourselves and our children the words and ways of violence as an index to patriotism and respectability.

If we as a nation should declare on this day of national mourning that we shall have a crash diet away from our taste for violence; that we shall never again treat a man worse in life than in death, we would be deluding ourselves and merely adding to pretty but meaningless Sunday oratory.

Little children will not lay aside their toy guns and their parents will not lay aside their acceptance of violent entertainment and tough talk overnight.

Let us begin

Perhaps we older ones will never fully reform. But we could begin a process. We could begin to teach the little ones what is really represented when they play with toy guns and use harsh words, and watch television do the same.

We can begin to reject hateful and violent words spoken and printed about others, and perhaps even come to the aid of those who are the target of such abuse, even those with whom we disagree.

Perhaps there will be no fewer who use harsh words. But surely there could be more who would begin to listen only to reasoned words.

"Let us begin," President Kennedy said. And if we falter let us begin again the process of teaching the very young the tragic human folly of admiring violence, which is their plaything in an hour and their master forever. Even if gentle ways did not contribute to greater national safety, they would still create a happier way to live for all of us.

"Being lied about—don't deal in lies.

And being hated—don't give way to hating."

Such a man was Robert Francis Kennedy.

Who here ever heard Senator Kennedy return violent words for violent words hurled against him? Search your

hearts and recent memories about the hateful words he endured here in our own community—"unshorn and un-American." But being hated, he did not give way to hating. Nor would he have us, the living, hate those who heaped abuse upon him when he was here.

He had that Christ-like quality of loving and even trying to understand his enemies, domestic as well as foreign. He would gently kid them but never, never hate.

And to the world he was one of the Americans who carried for America the image of youth and vigor and ideals.

In the words of Stevenson:

"He made us proud to be Americans. Now he is gone. Today we mourn him. Tomorrow and tomorrow we shall miss him. And so we shall never know how different the world might have been had fate permitted this blazing talent to live and labor longer at mankind's unfinished agenda of peace and progress for all."

Still, for those of you who loved and followed him there can be no doubt about what his message would be: "Don't give up."

On his deathbed the former Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, said this as advice to young men:

"But let them not turn aside from what they have to do, nor think that criticism excuses inaction. Let them have hope, and virtue, and let them believe in mankind and its future, for there is good as well as evil, and the man who tries to work for the good, believing in its eventual victory, while he may suffer setback and even disaster, will never know defeat. The only deadly sin I know is cynicism."

And this, from Shakespeare, Senator Robert Kennedy said of his beloved brother, the President:

"And when he shall die, take him and cut him out into little stars, and he shall make the face of heaven so fair that all the world will be in love with night, and pay no worship to the garish sun."

We have lost Senator Kennedy, and the grief in our hearts calls forth the tribute of the sorrowing Horatio in final farewell to his departed friend, Hamlet:

"Good night, sweet Prince, and may flights of angels sing thee to thy rest."

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD G. LUGAR, MAYOR

Dear friends, for the past few days, our Nation has struggled with questions of sordid and horrible motivation. For over 4 years, we have read thousands of words which tried to explain the death of a President. With morbid fascination, many will read and listen to a torrent of expression which tries to explain the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Our minds and our hearts find it difficult to accept the fact that these murders were senseless and absurd. We are inclined to follow two courses of thought, both of which are potentially disastrous.

Some of our citizens are certain that an unseen conspiracy lies behind the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and Senator Robert F. Kennedy and perhaps extends likewise to the murders of Medgar Evers and Dr. Martin Luther King. Some are certain that the conspirators are steeped in communistic philosophy and are trying to bring our democracy to its knees by paralytic assaults on our political, religious, and civil rights leadership.

Others are equally certain that a conspiracy consists of

those who oppose civil rights for all Americans and who lie in wait to cut down each leader who would speak out for those oppressed by social injustice. The fact that the alleged killers of Dr. King and Senator Kennedy do not appear to be related even remotely stands as no block to conspiracy logic because many believe that a large and current crop of hatred lies so close beneath the surface of American life that the actual gunman is irrelevant—literally any one of a million men could have performed the act of murder.

Each of us who believes in searching for the truth may wish to maintain a wait-and-see attitude on the theories of conspiracy. For my own part, I do not believe they are true nor am I interested, especially, in the assassins. From a relatively short period of public service, I am well acquainted by letters, calls, and personal confrontations with a legion of citizens in our own community who are at best unstable in their mental attitudes and at worst verge on madness. If this tribute to Senator Kennedy seems embarrassingly personal to an objective observer, it has been composed in such a way because I am deeply weary of the drone of voices who wish to chastise the United States of America, use our brief to further a political or theological premise, or simply to indulge in an emotional purge for the sake of it without emphasis on the great lessons which seem most important.

In short, Judaeo-Christian theology is clear and our own experience surely testifies that we are all fallable men. We do not sin once or twice in our life but on every occasion when we are determined to substitute our wills for that of God. We pray, "Let Thy will be done," but too hastily indicate through our feeble followthrough that we meant, "Let my will be done," and let it be supported by whatever scriptural or governmental sanctions that sheer cleverness may bring to the fore. If there has been hatred in America, the phenomenon is not unique to our time. Men far less conspicuous than Senator Kennedy have been killed in our own city in recent months for reasons equally as absurd as whatever might have motivated a murderer in Los Angeles on Wednesday morning. Historically, many in our own community continue to be more interested in the life and death of a public enemy of the people who terrorized this community than in Benjamin Harrison, a man who lived here and who was elected President of the United States.

To celebrate his life

My own bias remains in favor of celebrating the life of Robert Kennedy and not his assassin or the climate of our times, whatever it may be. My quest in this statement is simply to ask the question, Why did he do what he did? The question is not asked of the assassin but asked in a special way of Robert F. Kennedy.

Robert Kennedy was a fortunate human being. He was raised by strong and loving parents who did all that they could to bring his young life into unity with God, with the patriotic destiny of his country, and with people of all walks of life who live anywhere in the world. He enjoyed the rich fellowship of talented brothers and sisters. He enjoyed the loyalty of many devoted friends of widely diverse backgrounds. From his birth, he had no material wants and no financial pressures. He married a loving and vivacious wife. He was the father of a great and growing family of his own. With all of these blessings, what com-

pelled him to drive himself and others at such an incredible pace around this State and around this country in search of political responsibility?

Some men are drawn to political office by money. For some the salary of an office or funds unethically drawn from positions of power are an irresistible lure. Some men are less compelled to seek office for reasons of personal financial gain than by the possibility to bend the law for the benefit of friends, associates, or others who are impressed by such abilities literally to "fix" the system.

The ambition of power?

Most will be quick to admit that Robert Kennedy, and John Kennedy before him, were not interested in money or in feathering the nests of cronies. Some will contend that it is obvious they were interested in exercising power. Some will contend, further, that they were willing to expend money, their friends, their families, and themselves to obtain power.

Of course, the fact remains that power is sought by many men in our society and running in campaigns for elective office would appear to be one of the most difficult and deliberately self-punishing ways to obtain power. Far more often than we might realize, power to effect social or moral or economic change in our democracy is exercised by political managers who maintain power by reasons of personal wealth, corporate or labor union position, ownership of mass media such as newspapers, television, or radio stations, or men who employ representative political management to produce and maintain a stable of reliable and manageable potential candidates.

One could be a political opponent of the Kennedy brothers and still affirm, as I do, that I am grateful to them for coming to the people, themselves. Both John and Robert Kennedy were perhaps ruthless when pompous stuff-shirts demanded special privilege. They could be and were gentle with children and youth but curt with adults who were loyal only when the sun shined and turned tail so very quickly when clouds appeared.

I am not certain that I know precisely how Robert Kennedy would have brought greater racial unity and harmony and justice to this Nation, but I know why he gained the support of so many who have felt the lash of discrimination in this country. The answer is simply that he was so often physically there, himself, in neighborhoods where men and women cry out for understanding. It is not pleasant to be there on the hot pavement, in the sweat and dust, and heartbreak. Most men who have craved political power and who have attained and exercised it have not been there. Sadly enough, many talk as if they will never get there, that it is too dangerous, too uncertain—that personal, open campaigning may need to be curtailed if our leadership is to survive.

The irony of Robert Kennedy's last campaign was the fact that for all of his exertion and for all of his popular victories, for all the identification with youth and the future, with the alienated and dispossessed of our society, for all of his courage and independence in calling the shots himself unbossed and unobstructed by whatever power brokers remain in our society, it is certainly unclear whether he would have attained the prize of nomination by his party. Contrary to popular opinion, the percentage possibilities for success do not lie with those who champion reform.

The turmoil of our times

But we are in a period of transition in history. In my judgment, it is doubtful whether more countries have been in such internal turmoil at any one time since 1848. The youth of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Communist China, Spain are pulling in seemingly opposite political directions and are in process of reordering those countries and others. The same is happening in the United States. John and Robert Kennedy brought an unusual degree of dignity and responsibility to that change in the realm of statecraft. Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King afforded channels of responsibility in the civil rights movements. I have been influenced by each and the passing of each has been a grievous shock which at the moment seemed unendurable.

Sometimes at moments such as these, we would be less than human if we did not have feelings of fear and inadequacy. Sometimes, we might even entertain a fleeting thought of such disgust that we wonder why we carry on in the face of hostility and malice and evil which seems to abound around us. On occasion, I have been deeply discouraged to read letters from citizens in this community who wrote with such hatred and used such strong words as "treason" that I have wondered why one would want to continue in public service.

I am certain Senator Kennedy knew very well why he continued on and down deep so do each of us. With all of his blessings, he still had a conscience and the terrible human predicament of living in a world of suffering all about him. He was compelled to act, and he sought change through reform and reconciliation in the ways he thought best as long as he had life to do so.

This memorial service for him comes only 2 months after the burial of Dr. Martin Luther King, and it seems like many years since I affirmed the course of action which Indianapolis would take for the next 4 years. I have no way of knowing how Robert Kennedy would have implemented the goals and sentiments I set forth on January 8, but I am led to believe through conversation with his aides that at some point he read the words I am about to repeat and expressed his admiration and kinship for an unknown young mayor who he was not to meet.

In his memory and to fortify our own resolve, I say again today, "Many thousands still feel privately that decline and decay of our great urban areas is inevitable. Indeed, the odds are long because the problems are so enormous and complex and our skepticism as a community is still a great deal more obvious than our brave public words of confidence. Yet the fact remains that on this one occasion, you have given a young man an opportunity to serve 1,461 days in an experiment with the idea that an honest, businesslike, intelligent, and compassionate government will be very different and that we will all love Indianapolis a great deal more after we have survived the experiment."

"The dangers of this administration are obvious to all of us. So much more is expected because so many more hopes have been raised. Moral frailty which might seem a necessary evil of big city government will not be treated so kindly in an enterprise which has been chosen for its idealism. Lapses of thought will seem less excusable in an administration chosen for intelligence rather than one selected to perform the role of caretaker or mortician."

"But let us remember from the outset that a mayor is no stronger than the life which each of you in this community has for Indianapolis and for one another. I will think, and plan, and speak, and plead, and pray, but we will be greater in the next 4 years only if you respond very generously.

"I have enjoyed that rarest of all gifts, the opportunity to speak and to act as a free man, an independent spirit who was beholden to no man and determined to seek the truth.

After each winter a more beautiful spring

"The truly free man must be a man for all seasons. I have been grateful for each. After each winter has come a more beautiful spring. And soon, other young men who fight in our behalf today in a foreign land will return to enjoy a springtime in their lives. All of our young fighting men share with us now the winter of our discontent. We are disquieted by fears of racial strife, by fears of violence on our city streets, and perhaps by fears that the bedrock certainties of moral judgment have been sliding into a fog, and that while we comfortably enjoy business as usual, the family next door suffers the anguish each night of knowing that a young man is in danger.

"Some of us are not prepared to pay the price for living in a just society which is equal and open to all men. But I say to each of you, please prepare to pay that price because I intend to ask it of you. If we are to enjoy social peace in this community, it will prevail only so long as our physical force is combined with a passion for justice. I intend to walk the sidewalks of this city, visit the factories, the schools, and the playgrounds, and grasp as many hands this year as I did last. Last year, I needed your votes and a chance to do the things I have suggested.

"This year, I will need your strength, your quiet confidence, and your pledge to help. And the next year, I will be back again because we must run this course together. We live in harmony only when the right words are spoken to the right people at the right time. Life is not merciful to those who suggest great plans and aims but execute them halfheartedly.

"We will act and speak in a timely manner, but I hope too that we will enjoy during all of these coming days an experience which may be a product of the tensions of our trials and errors—let us become a much more friendly city. Let us grow closer together rather than fragmenting ourselves in tiny areas of exclusiveness. Let us meet together as entire communities in our school buildings. Let us support each other's churches and neighborhood associations. Let us help many to become owners of businesses, many more to own homes, and all of our children to have the tools of health and education which will make Indianapolis a brighter city in years to come.

"Time and life are precious. We are responsible for all that we do. We can no longer plead ignorance of the tasks and challenges before us. Let us help each other to do his best."

Let this be remembered as one time and one place in which men and women said with the Scriptures, "Now death where is thy sting?" Victory is His and ours because we gave ourselves at the time we were needed and

there is now new life within each one of us and in our city.

Why the frenzied pace?

But some would inquire still, why is the pace so frenzied? Why must all the ills which plague mankind be attacked today and simultaneously without rest and respite?

There was a time before the deaths of John and Robert Kennedy when I, too, took the viewpoint that change is in the wind but that change can come through the mellowness of time and the patient work of an Albert Schweitzer laboring in Lambarene over the course of many decades.

Now I am inclined to believe that words which should be spoken today should not be left until a seemingly more appropriate time, responsibilities which could be shouldered now should not be left until the times seem more right.

Even if I have confessed that I am not certain about the precise means which Robert Kennedy sought to employ and, in fact, his pragmatic philosophy made numerous adaptations even during his weeks among us this year in Indianapolis, he sensed correctly that the youth of America are in favor of a new sense of justice for those who are handicapped by race, by physical disability, by accident of birth, by any of a number of factors which have made this world more cruel and justice more uncertain.

For those of us who are involved even in a small way as political campaigners for a better life, for the furthering of God's will on this earth as well as in the life to come, we are angered and enraged over the death of Robert Kennedy in the same way as one of our law enforcement officers would be enraged over the murder of a fellow officer in the streets of our city by a common felon. And yet slowly our anger dissolves into tears as we ponder the calm and courageous eulogy of a surviving brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, a man with every right to be vengeful, but instead a man who asked the right question before he spoke. And that question must always be for many of us, "What would our Lord Jesus Christ say and do if He was among us at this time and this moment?"

And so it must be for us as we are influenced by the words of two great poets, William Shakespeare and Dylan Thomas when we said last night to Robert Kennedy, "Good night sweet prince." "Do not despair for in the sunlight of today death shall have no dominion, death shall have no dominion, death shall have no dominion," because we shall dream with you and your brothers "things that never were and say why not?"

(NOTE.—The benediction was given by the Reverend F. Benjamin Davis.)

Hon. William R. Anderson
OF TENNESSEE

Mr. Speaker, it is ironic and tragic that we save our finest tributes to men of state, and reserve our generosity of spirit toward their qualities and accomplishments until their demise.

Mankind has always been at a loss for an adequate response to the death of men of heroic stature. Especially is this the case when the immediate cause of that loss is irrelevant to the scale of the consequences. Thus we find ourselves today, for certainly one such man was Robert F. Kennedy, so recently and brilliantly of this Congress.

This was a man superbly and vibrantly alive. To many perceptive young observers his became the style of endeavor for late 20th century Americans: vigorous, purposeful, well educated, multifaceted, equally at home on a wilderness river, in a national strategy meeting, or a social gathering, forever concerned with human and institutional renewal, possessed of a restless, disciplined imagination; a conceptional man, a formidable competitor, a passionate, humorous, articulate advocate of a humane modernity for all people.

History does not indeed reveal its alternatives, and so we are denied also a clear knowledge of the dimensions of our loss. It is reasonable that we looked to and were confident Robert Kennedy would contribute very substantially to our national moods and decisions for the remaining decades of this strange century. We find it anguishing and unreasonable that we have lost him.

However, historians and poets may reckon the consequences, the absence of that spirited contribution will be painfully felt for many years.

Robert Kennedy was not a melancholy or a bitter or a spiritually fragile man. Our best tribute to him is to match his resilience and buoyancy, his discipline and thoughtful optimism, through this volatile year which, it develops, is one of history's crucibles.

We ask God to comfort his magnificent family.

We echo the closing words of his brother, "He will always be at our side."

Hon. Robert T. Stafford

OF VERMONT

Mr. Speaker, among the mail which I received last week were individual letters from eight young students at the Caverly Child Health Center in Pittsford, Vt.

In their own words, these severely physically handicapped students expressed their feelings

about the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. They spoke of "sadness, sorrow, grief, shame, and anger."

But, as one of the students put it "We must try and make things better."

As I read these letters and contemplated on the life of Senator Kennedy prior to the senseless and tragic act which ended that life, I thought about young America.

For whether or not we of other generations understood him or agreed with him, Senator Kennedy was in touch with the young people of our Nation.

He went out amongst them.

He listened to them.

He gave hope and purpose to many of them.

He had faith in their ability to help lead America to new heights.

So, regardless of politics—regardless of philosophies—there is a legacy left to us by Senator Kennedy.

There can be communication between all Americans.

There can be hope and purpose in all our lives.

There can be—there must be—the will to carry on.

Hon. Richard S. Schweiker

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we pay tribute to the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, the distinguished junior Senator from the State of New York.

Our Nation is still stunned by the brutality of yet another assassin's bullet which has once again taken the life of a member of the Kennedy family.

Senator Kennedy was a man of great determination and conviction. He dedicated his life toward fulfilling the American dream. Although he was a man of wealth, he sought to serve his Nation in unending ways and to add to the pride and accomplishment of his country.

He served his country during a time of war and as Attorney General before being elected to serve the people of New York in the Senate. And finally, his deep concern for the welfare of the people of this great land led him to avidly seek our Nation's highest office. It was while Robert Francis Kennedy was seeking the Presidency of

the United States that he was struck down by an assassin's bullet.

He leaves behind him a young family well aware of his outstanding qualities. And he leaves to his country the encouragement for other Americans to pursue the goals of human good to which he gave his life.

Mrs. Schweiker and I join the millions of other Americans in expressing our deep sorrow to Senator Kennedy's family.

Hon. William D. Ford

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy has robbed the Nation, and the world, of a dedicated and brilliant man whose loss cannot be measured by words.

Senator Kennedy was born to wealth; he could have spent his days in relative leisure. Instead, he chose a life of public service, and to this calling he gave his full devotion.

I worked with Senator Kennedy on the conference committee which finalized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and I was associated with him on other legislation in the areas of education and the war on poverty. Through these associations, I developed a firsthand knowledge of his deep concern over the Nation's problems, and his intense desire to find solutions for these problems.

I also had the privilege of campaigning with Senator Kennedy in Michigan during 1966, and I was impressed at that time with his ability, his energy, and his tremendous appeal to persons of all ages. During his appearance in Michigan, I saw that appeal surface again and again in children, in teenagers, in young men and women, in middle-aged people, and in senior citizens.

In Senator Kennedy, they caught the spirit and the promise that had characterized John F. Kennedy's short term as President. Senator Kennedy captured the imagination of all who saw and heard him.

What the future might have held for Senator Kennedy, we cannot know. Like his brother, he was struck down on the very threshold of promise. We must leave for historians the task of assigning Senator Kennedy his place in the history of our day, but we do know that his impact was deep and long lasting.

His grieving family, and his wide circle of friends, do not have to be told that he lived a full and happy life. He leaves them a legacy of courage and compassion, and an example of how life can and should be lived.

For the poor, the oppressed, and the underprivileged, whose cause he so gallantly championed, Senator Kennedy also leaves a legacy—a promise that their problems and needs shall not go unnoticed.

To all of us, Senator Robert F. Kennedy has left a vision of a better America. To all of us, he has left the challenge of working to see his vision come true.

Hon. Phillip Burton

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, it is a difficult task to reduce one's feelings to words, as, in this time of sorrow, we must. I knew, admired, and was with Senator Kennedy during his travels through California just prior to his tragic death. I saw his San Francisco campaign chairman and saw firsthand his concern for people and their warm response to that concern.

Senator Kennedy was in many respects a unique man with a special understanding of the problems which face this Nation. It was not his understanding but his ability to communicate his concern, his ability to inspire hope, his headlong quest for the America he knew could exist, and his invitation, willingly accepted by the people he sought to lead, which made him unique.

Robert Kennedy was a man of faith, deep religious faith and an equally abiding faith in this Nation. He had faith that men could respond to the suffering of their fellow men.

He had faith that men would see the injustice of war, the stupidity and degradation of bigotry, the utter despair which exists when reason gives way to violence.

He courageously presented these views and men and women in every walk of life did respond

He offered hope.

A man of faith, Robert Kennedy lived the prayer of the gentle monk of Assisi.

He sought to be an instrument of peace. He sought to bring love where there was hate. He sought to achieve union where discord had

existed. He sought to bring faith where there was doubt—hope where there was despair. He sought to bring light where there was darkness and joy to replace sadness. He gave of himself fully.

Robert Kennedy was involved in mankind and mankind is diminished by his death.

Though we suffer this loss, though we are denied his continued leadership, his words and deeds, the ideals which inspired them, live on in the hearts and minds of those whose task remains to carry the torch of liberty forward.

The flicker of candlelight, the windwaft flame burning on the Arlington hillside gave echo to the words of President John F. Kennedy:

Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those rights to which the Nation has always been committed * * *

That torch, sometimes carried forward with great strides, sometimes with faltering steps, sometimes, decreed by fate, passed untimely to new hands, continues to burn and this Nation is lighted by its glow.

The death of Robert Kennedy casts a shadow over that glow, but its light remains, as it remained for him in his time of sorrow and loss, a beacon to guide, to console, to strengthen, to inspire, and to light our way as we continue the journey he undertook.

We mourn his loss. The dispossessed in our land have lost a friend, this man, born to wealth, who felt so deeply the suffering of the poor. We share the grief of his family for they have lost son, husband, father, brother in the most personal and tragic of all losses. The Nation has lost his vital leadership, his vision, his dreams.

His voice was the voice of our conscience and a nation stirred and responded.

Now it is our task to make real his dream, to purge ourselves of hate so that hate and violence can be purged from this Nation, to act in such a way that of each of us it can be also said:

They see wrong and try to right it.

They see suffering and try to heal it.

They see war and try to stop it.

Hon. John C. Culver

OF IOWA

Mr. Speaker, last night, I was present when a group of men spent the evening talking about Senator Robert Kennedy.

We each in turn told stories about him based on our own personal experiences, and what his example meant to each of us.

I believe that it was the most inspiring and enriching experience of my life.

I will not attempt to relate these conversations because they are ours.

I would, however, like to thank him for making us more than we would have been without him.

Hon. John M. Murphy

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, it has been the good fortune of this Nation in difficult times to find men with the ability both to recognize and communicate the needs of the times and to inspire in men the desire to pursue the noblest goals in life. Robert Francis Kennedy was such a man.

He shunned the life of complacency which a man of his financial status might have lived and instead devoted himself to the service of his country. He distinguished himself as the Attorney General during the Presidency of his brother John Kennedy, particularly in the field of civil rights. As a U.S. Senator he was an able and dedicated representative of the people of New York State.

His constituency, however, went beyond the borders of one State, for he represented the entire Nation in whatever he said or did; he was truly a man of the people.

He was particularly close to the underprivileged in America, and he identified with the poor, the sick, and the oppressed. He was deeply sensitive to their plight, he was an enlightened and eloquent spokesman for their cause, and he was dedicated to finding solutions to their problems.

His death is a tremendous loss both to those he fought for and for the Nation as a whole, be-

cause as he so rightly pointed out, the problems of the underprivileged are the problems of all Americans, and the solutions will benefit all men.

Robert Kennedy did not live to see his visions fulfilled. But while the man is gone, certainly his dream remains, and if his life is to have real meaning for future generations, those who heard his message and shared his dream must continue his work.

Hon. Sam M. Gibbons

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, when the history of the sixth decade of this century is written it will reflect the great impact on our Nation of two brothers—John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Robert Francis Kennedy. Unfortunately, the historians must also record brutal acts of assassination and other senseless violent crimes. It is almost inconceivable that these two brothers who came forward to serve their country would be the victims of these heinous acts.

Words are inadequate to express the deep sorrow we feel at the loss of Senator Robert Kennedy. In the same tradition of his late brother, he was a man of great courage and dedication. Having worked with him in the Congress, I know he was intensely aware of the many problems facing our Nation. He persistently sought new solutions to provide the best possible answers to our problems.

Robert Kennedy had a good understanding of our history, and he had deep beliefs about the proper direction in which America should be moving. Had he lived, he would have provided vigorous leadership in building a better America for all of our people.

Senator Robert Kennedy contributed greatly to our Nation. It is disheartening to observe that he was not permitted to give the full measure of the talents and abilities with which he was blessed. Americans from all walks of life will search their minds for an answer to the question of why. We know, however, that there is no reasonable answer to explain why a dedicated young man in the prime of his life is struck down by an assassin.

I join my fellow Americans today in extending deepest sympathy to the family of Senator Robert

Kennedy—to his wife and children, to his parents and family, and to all who admired and respected him.

May he rest in peace.

Hon. Harley O. Staggers

OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Speaker, the passing of a man whose days have been spent in the white glare of public consciousness suggests many things that might be said. The search for the words that could best express our anguish and our sense of desolation goes on ceaselessly from hour to hour, and the words gather thick upon the printed page and resound endless over the flickering electronic wave. But somehow they seem meaningless today, and serve only to conceal our helplessness in the face of tragedy. The record of his deeds is written, and the final asterisk has been affixed to the last syllable. The human form that we knew and loved as Bobby Kennedy is lost to existence.

Earth, that nourished thee, shall claim
Thy growth, to be resolved to earth again,
And, lost each human trace, surrendering up
Thine individual being, shalt thou go
To mix forever with the elements.

What remains is that spiritual essence which grappled with today's swirling currents of thought and aspiration, and directed them toward the service of brotherhood and human progress. For this, we thank him and his Maker. And to his grieving family we comment for consolation the inspiring certainty of that knowledge which is at hand for all good men in time of distress:

A voice within us speaks the startling word, "Man, thou shalt never die."

The long list of his virtues is engraved deep in our memories. And since he touched life in so many facets, they are stamped indelibly on the annals of his country, and especially on the hearts of the millions of his countrymen whom he served so well. Certainly "the solemn brood of care" will lay less heavily upon the unfortunate and the weak and the neglected because of universal spirit of a common humanity, which his life. His vices, if any, are now dissolved in the knows that all men err, and erring, must turn to penitence.

Through the ages of a broken column has stood as a symbol of an unfinished task, a career prematurely cut short. The task to which Senator Kennedy committed himself has been set forth in detail by his associates and his admirers. The degree of progress which he has made toward the accomplishment of his purpose is a matter of individual judgment. But those of us who believed ardently in what he was trying to do need erect no broken column to his memory. For the Senator himself, sustained by his deeply religious nature, would be the first to assert that there is a destiny which shapes our ends and that—

God doth not need either man's work or his own gifts.

It may be that the Senator's supreme gift to his age is an idea, an ideal, which will evolve into reality under the hand of another. Let him whose magic power it is to take a dream and clothe it with form and substance take up the challenge.

Hon. Patsy T. Mink OF HAWAII

Mr. Speaker the tragedy which befell our land on June 5 goes beyond words and epitaphs.

Its immense ramifications may never be adequately measured nor fully understood.

The consequence of that terrible act far outreach those normally attendant upon the killing of a fellow human being as great as he may be. The striking down of Robert Kennedy not only was a cruel and wanton act of violence directed at him but, in addition, it was a profound and fundamental assault on the spirit of hope and the love of justice in the minds and hearts of millions of people in all corners of our great country and throughout the world.

This is because Robert Francis Kennedy personified justice and hope for a better world. The outstanding and noble tributes of character with which he was so uniquely and richly blessed are, in sum, that which magnifies the grievousness of his loss. He who was born to wealth and affluence, foresook the easy and comfortable life which so easily could have been his and instead turned all the driving force and intense energy of his personality and mind into the service of mankind. He deeply felt a responsibility to the unfortunate of the world and he believed that the duty to alleviate the suffering of the poor and the black was his and not to be

forsaken. As he said time and time again, the problems facing our generation are immense and imponderable, almost defying solution by the mind and will of man. But even as his awareness of the troubles in the world was great, Robert Kennedy's courage and undaunted efforts to meet the herculean challenge were greater. More than any leader of his time, he directly and forcibly hurled himself into the breach of poverty, racism, misunderstanding, and selfishness.

Robert Kennedy's very method of campaigning revealed his fundamental character and love of his fellow man for he was not content to stand distant from those who he came to lead but he instead strove almost to the point of physical exhaustion to reach out and touch all of the teeming thousands who came to capture and carry away with them some of his magic. His hands reached out everywhere around him to grasp those extended to him as if he hoped to infuse, through a moment of contact, in those whose hands he shook something of the electrical restlessness which so pervaded his every waking moment. The satisfaction of speaking shining words was not enough for him. It seemed that his need to reach into the hearts of his listeners and communicate his vision of the world and of the future was insatiable and the only way in which it could be satisfied was by direct living contact with them. This driving need to share his dreams with the common people who he loved so much, overrode any concern for his own safety. I remember reading that some weeks before the California primary, Robert Kennedy was immersed in the throngs which lined his election caravan when suddenly someone appeared waving a pistol. Those with him called out in alarm urging him to take cover. It was later discovered that the pistol was only a toy and had only been inadvertently carried by the man who waved it. Throughout all of the commotion in a supreme demonstration of the courage which was his, Robert Kennedy stood his ground without so much as a move for cover of safety. I think that it was this quality, this grace under fire, which made Robert Kennedy the great leader which he was. But the quality which made him the great man which he was, was his overwhelming compassion and love not only for his immediate family but for the family of man of which he deemed himself a part. It was this great quality which drew the downtrodden and the oppressed to him like

flowers turning to the sun. And this concern for those who from him obtained nurture was indisputably genuine. Because love cannot be convincingly counterfeited by any man. And those whose grief and sorrow so much moved Robert Kennedy knew instantly and certainly that he cared for them and this was his real magic if magic it was.

Robert Kennedy, who was filled with compassion for those less fortunate than he, was doubly blessed by the additional gift of courage. These two traits were merged in him because he more than any political leader of his generation, put love into action and I think that it was this unique blending of feeling and movement which marked him as a man apart.

Robert Kennedy's light cannot be replaced.

But, as I know he would want, we must all move ahead and to the limit of our capacities we must seek the kind of world to which he was immutably committed and for which he spent his life.

I would like to repeat a few words written by the great writer Thomas Wolfe which more than anything I've heard or read, captures the spirit of what Robert Kennedy meant to me:

There came to him an image of man's whole life upon the earth. It seemed to him that all man's life was like a tiny spurt of flame that blazed out briefly in an illimitable and terrifying darkness, and that all man's grandeur, tragic dignity, his heroic glory came from the brevity and smallness of this flame. He knew his life was little and would be extinguished, and that only darkness was immense and everlasting. And he knew that he would die with defiance on his lips, and that the shout of his denial would ring with the last pulsing of his heart into the maw of the all-engulfing night.

The flame of justice and hope that was Robert Francis Kennedy blazed briefly but he left us the great legacy of his dream for a more humane world. Robert Kennedy was a relentless dreamer in a world which pays little heed to dreams. I would hope that we who still live would find the courage and love in our hearts to pay him the tribute which he so greatly deserves—the tribute of keeping alive his golden dream.

Hon. Thomas M. Rees
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, although almost a month has passed since the tragic death of Senator Robert

Kennedy, those of us knew him, believed in him, and supported him in his endeavors to build a new America, find it difficult indeed to realize that he is no longer with us. As time opens a gulf from that horrible night in Los Angeles, we find we miss more and more this gentle man with his clear vision of what America should be, his drive, fire, and leadership, and his magical ability to communicate with all Americans—black and white, rich and poor, young and old.

A few moments before Robert Kennedy was struck down, I stood with him as he spoke to his enthusiastic, dedicated, and happy supporters and friends, elated at his California primary victory. It was to be his last speech. In this speech he reaffirmed his faith in this Nation's ability to solve the terrible problems that face us:

What I think is quite clear is that we can work together in the last analysis and that what has been going on in the United States over the period of the last three years, the division, the violence, the disenchantment with our society, the division whether it's between black and white, between the poor and the more affluent or between age groups or over the war in Vietnam that we can start to work together. We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country. And I intend to make that my basis for running in the period of the next few months.

It is impossible to put into words the sense of loss that many of us feel. Robert Kennedy was a warm, concerned, and dedicated human being. His absence leaves a terrible void of leadership and inspiration in the world today.

Hon. Alphonzo Bell
OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, in life, especially among people who did not know him, Robert Kennedy seemed invincible.

At the moment before assassination he was involved in the rituals of yet another victory.

At the moment after assassination he seemed vulnerable and tragic and unfulfilled.

Before Los Angeles, he stood accused of seeking power from the reputation of his brother.

After Los Angeles, he seemed doomed by the prominence of his brother to a place in history significantly less than that which he earned in his own right.

We who survive hardly knew what we possessed until we had lost it.

We ought to know our public men better.

We ought to be as willing to celebrate them in life as we are to eulogize them in death.

Senator Kennedy and I served together during several joint Senate-House sessions.

I liked him. But I never had the opportunity to cheer him.

If there is consolation, it is in the fact that on June 4, in Los Angeles, where I live, hundreds of thousands of idealistic young Americans who knew him even less well than I, were cheering him very loudly indeed.

These cheers were among the last sounds he heard on earth before he left us.

He is gone.

The problems he saw remain.

And we know more than we did before about the public man.

He is and must remain the point of contact in the collision of opinion.

Sometimes we become confused by this process of advocacy.

We see men as actually being the problems about which they speak. We see them this way until they retire from the forum of ideas and the competition which they produce.

Robert Kennedy did not retire from the competition.

He was involved in it to the end of his life.

He was a speaker with a point of view.

Today he is silent, the problems about which he spoke remain.

With his passing there is temptation to eulogize him in the traditional way, in terms of the causes which made him prominent.

This would not be altogether unfair.

He was, truly, one of the few among us whose impact on events was so strong, so decisive, that even in death he seems involved with the causes about which he campaigned.

For he saw life around him with special clarity and he reported on it with special power.

He will be missed because of this.

He will also be missed because of what he was, quite apart from his public role.

I am only sorry that many of the nice things that could be said about him were not said while he could hear them.

And I am happy that in Los Angeles at the Ambassador Hotel on June 4 all but one of a great throng of people were representing us.

Hon. Roman C. Pucinski

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, on the 6th of June 1968, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Grady, of Chicago, delivered the following address on Ed McElroy's newscast on WJJD radio in Chicago, following the death of Senator Robert Kennedy of New York.

WJJD radio is to be highly commended for the superb public service job they performed on the Senator's death.

The text of the address delivered by the Most Reverend Thomas J. Grady, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, follows:

McLean, Va., beyond town, is a pleasant area along the Potomac River. It is wooded with tall, old trees whose leaves turn in the sun, flickering the light and shadows that fall below. On the gentle hills, between the trees, there are green meadows and paddocks. White fences trace out estates; the homes are hidden. McLean is a place for gracious living.

Robert Kennedy lived there with his wife and 10 children and horses and ponies and dogs and pets. Robert Kennedy loved his wife and children. He loved life brimming and full. He loved the keen edge of life. He loved to roar down the Colorado River in a rubber raft—to climb the high white ski slope to take danger and the wind in his teeth as he flashed down the hill.

With his long hair flopping on his forehead, he was like a boy—a boy who had successfully managed a presidential campaign, who had been Attorney General of the United States, who was a U.S. Senator, who was bidding for his country's highest office.

He was a rich man, but he loved the Harlem Negro, the migrant work of California, the midwest farmer, the Detroit factory worker, the Florida shrimp fisher. He was able, and he was willing to serve them all.

The life he loved so much he wanted to share well and equally with all Americans; with the men of all the world.

Robert Kennedy is dead. America has dimmed a bit. Life has dimmed a bit.

Hon. Herbert Tenzer

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, on June 7, 1968, the Honorable Charles H. Silver, consultant to the mayor of the city of New York and president of Beth Israel Medical Center, delivered a memorial tribute to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

This eloquent tribute from a distinguished resident of the city of New York is particularly appropriate at this time because Mr. Silver discusses patriotism, freedom, and the price which

Senator Kennedy paid for these cherished principles.

I am placing the full text of Mr. Silver's remarks in the Record at this point for the information of my colleagues in the House:

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, PRESIDENT, BETH ISRAEL MEDICAL CENTER, AT MEMORIAL TRIBUTE FOR SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY—JUNE 7, 1968

There is a scar in the heart of our people that has widened again like a wound reopened.

Its pain cannot be healed by any remedy but time—perhaps not even by time. Nor will it be eased except, perhaps, by a profound inventory of the demented forces that produce the unimaginable violence, chaos, and tragedy that stalk our land.

Dark, indeed, is the glass through which we look back on the events of the past few days.

Senator Kennedy is dead. Even as we mourn the loss of this fine, young leader, we lament, as well, the loss of a very substantial part of our national self-respect.

All we have left are the bitter dregs of bereavement * * * a chance to examine the mistakes of yesterday * * * the sorrow of today * * * and out of these, we may somehow find the strength to build a brighter tomorrow.

But we must not forget. The nightmares—of President John Kennedy's death—of Dr. Martin Luther King's death—of Senator Robert Kennedy's death—are an anguished warning, thrice repeated, and a national shame, thrice endured.

We must remember * * * and resolve * * * to make amends, to seek the truth * * * and, with sanity, justice, and mercy, to determine that no such further disgrace will blight the pages of our history.

It must seem that some of our 200 million people have lost their minds. It may help us to keep our own if we remember that in a commonwealth of so many millions there may be some who do not belong here and do not deserve to stay.

It is not easy to single them out. It is no simple matter to spot the threat of danger beforehand—and there is always the risk of trapping the innocent, in the net of suspicion, along with the guilty.

Yet, are we not reaping the repulsive harvest of our own apathy? Are we not cultivating crime, encouraging social degenerates and enemies of decency and democracy? We are eliminating the death penalty, coddling criminals, and freely putting guns into the hands of lunatics and idiots.

Why have we had 5,600 deaths by violence in the United States in the last year while Great Britain, for example, had less than 30, France less than 20?

When are we going to learn? When will we come to care? When will we return to the legacy of our faith and the law of God?

The first news came like a bolt from the sky. This, it truly was * * * shocking and numbing in its impact.

With moist eyes, unable to move from our television sets, we watched * * * stunned and confounded by a series of unbelievable scenes * * * consumed by a sense of horror and disbelief.

As the original fact of the cowardly attack struck home—and then struck again with the dreadful tidings of Senator Kennedy's death—our whole world came to a sudden, shuddering halt. The crowded streets froze into screaming silence.

Humanity held its breath. In every fearful heart there came a piercing grief, a pang of sorrow for Mrs. Kennedy and the children. From every farflung land, even from behind the Iron Curtain, where compassion seemed to have fled, there came a sound of sobbing.

The bleeding flesh of our heroic dead became a symbol of mankind's shame that our enlightened civilization could breed the evil hand and eye that aimed those fatal shots.

Is this the terrible price of too much freedom?

Are the borders of constitutional protection too broad for those who despise our laws and desecrate our liberty?

Has our own lazy loyalty and indifferent Americanism played a part in this incredible pattern of events?

It is not easy to answer.

Our hearts are too heavy with the knowledge that a noble young warrior has been cut down in the prime of his days, in the very moment of his triumph, at the very beginning of his most notable achievements.

His was a bold, uncompromising call to truth * * * a call to arms against injustice and oppression and poverty that keeps ringing in our aching hearts.

We hear him yet. We see him as he stood before us * * * smiling * * * self-assured * * * and oh, so tragically young. He is there * * * head high * * * waving to cheering crowds * * * rushing forward to shake a friendly hand.

Such a man cannot be eliminated by a maniac with a gun * * * no * * * nor by the madness that walks abroad in the world.

Such a man lives as long as men dream of freedom. His influence grows with the growth of the great country he served * * * alive and indestructible in our memories. Time erects his monument, and history will build it high.

We weep at the loss of a cherished friend.

We are outraged at the disgrace that again and again has befallen our land.

Robert F. Kennedy paid a high price for his patriotism * * * but he was a patriot. Most of us don't even know the meaning of the word.

Perhaps we will think differently now.

Perhaps we will act differently.

On this day of mourning and remembrance, we honor the memory of his wisdom, wit, and eloquence. Our spirit is warmed again by the fire that lighted his love of America. Our hope for democracy lives on—and, while it lives, those who love liberty cannot truly die. In his name, let us resolve to strengthen our national integrity, to protect the principles of justice and equality for which he gave his life.

That is the greatest tribute we can pay in eternal gratitude for his ultimate sacrifice.

While our hearts grieve, let us beseech eternal peace and the blessing of Almighty God, as we intone the ancient supplication of the Kaddish for the immortal soul of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy, friend of mankind.

Hon. John Brademas

OF INDIANA

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Record a most thoughtful article concerning the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Africa.

The article was written by a friend of the Senator, Wayne Fredericks, who served with very great distinction from 1961 until 1967 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Mr. Fredericks, who holds the State Department's Superior Honor Award, is now with the Ford Foundation, working in an area of international programs.

The article, which appeared in the June 20, 1968, issue of the Los Angeles Times, follows:

TOPICAL COMMENT: KENNEDY IN AFRICA—ONE MAN'S FAITH IN A CONTINENT
(By Wayne Fredericks)

On June 6, 2 years ago, Senator Robert Kennedy said to the students of the University of Cape Town in South Africa: "At the heart of Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value—and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore, the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of Western society." His speech was made in the course of a journey which took him and Mrs. Kennedy to the Republic of South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.

Robert Kennedy's interest in Africa goes back at least as far as the "Kennedy airlift" of 1960, when the Kennedy Foundation provided charter flights for a number of students from East Africa who had scholarships at various American colleges but did not have funds to get to this country from Africa.

Robert Kennedy remained especially interested in the role of youth and students throughout the world, including Africa, and was conscious of the great impact which would be made in Africa as more and more young and increasingly better educated Africans assumed positions of responsibility. When he reached Ethiopia on his 1966 African trip, he spoke to several thousand students in a hall normally holding one-third that number, and referred to youth and students as the elite of their country and told them it was their responsibility to strive for the betterment of their own people and "to promote a dialog between young people of all nations."

His interest in Africa grew during his years as Attorney General and as Senator. He asked for and received regular briefings on African developments from State Department officials and others.

He had often expressed to me a desire to visit Africa and was pleased when he received an invitation in the autumn of 1965 from the president of the National Union of South African Students to speak to a student audience in Cape Town. Delays in obtaining visas and in finding

a mutually acceptable time caused the trip to be postponed until June 1966, a time which was not convenient to Senator Kennedy because of the political campaign of 1966. Nevertheless, he proceeded.

An impressive amount of time and energy went into the preparation of the trip. Information was requested, not only from official sources, but from universities and a wide variety of private sources of knowledge on southern and eastern Africa. The Senator held discussions with scholars, officials, businessmen, churchmen, journalists, authors, Africans, South Africans representing a wide range of views on developments in Africa and on race relations.

Particularly useful were a series of Saturday morning discussions beginning with breakfast at the Senator's home at Hickory Hill. During these and other discussions, Senator Kennedy formulated and defined the principal themes of his speech in the four countries he was to visit.

In the case of South Africa, whose policy of apartheid was repugnant to most of the world community and whose racial problems were very difficult, he was anxious to set forth for all South Africans, regardless of race, his own views of the basic values of Western democracy. (It was from a speech in South Africa that Senator Edward Kennedy quoted in his eulogy to his brother in St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 8.)

Although he was ignored by South African officials, his speeches, his visits to universities, to African townships, to the late Chief Albert Luthuli, and to industrial leaders were widely reported. And Kennedy, too, was impressed not only by modern technological achievements—but by Chief Luthuli, a modest African Nobel Peace Prize winner under restriction on his farm and of whom Senator Kennedy said, "He is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. His compassion, understanding, and tolerance were most impressive."

As Kennedy departed, the Rand Daily Mail, an English language Johannesburg paper, said, "Senator Robert Kennedy's visit is the best thing that has happened to South Africa for years. It is as if a window has been flung open and a gust of fresh air has swept into a room."

Although the South African portion of the journey was controversial both inside and outside South Africa, the visits to Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia took the form of a homecoming. President Kenyatta, President Nyerere, and His Majesty Haile Selassie and their people accorded him a reception usually reserved for a visiting chief of state. Both President Nyerere and the Emperor had met Robert Kennedy during their state visits to this country in 1963 when he was Attorney General.

Robert Kennedy was one of those few Americans in high places who early felt the growing importance of Africa and who saw the importance of the issue of race and color for Africa, for the United States, and for the world. He saw danger in the minority regimes throughout southern Africa based solely on race and in the potential opportunity they afforded communism. "The denial of freedom," he said in Africa, "in whatever name, only strengthens the very communism it claims to oppose."

He was concerned at the low level of U.S. economic assistance to Africa and called for an increased flow of economic aid and private investment from the richer to the poorer nations.

He had the ability to communicate with Africans—both

about their problems and ours—and was always ready to receive African visitors when they came to Washington or New York on official or private visits. One African leader's comment to me was typical, "Senator Kennedy certainly has an understanding of the problems of Africa."

I was in Kenya when the shattering news of the shooting and then the death of Senator Robert Kennedy came. President Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya, who has led his people through periods of stress and difficulty to racial accommodation and tolerance summed it up for himself and for Africa when he said on June 6, 1968, "America, and indeed the world, has lost a courageous, liberal, and farsighted personality. The ideals for which he strived will live on and inspire people the world over to live in understanding, respect, and love."

Hon. William F. Ryan OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we take this time to pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose tragic death has grieved the Nation and the world. We deeply mourn his loss—the loss of a great national leader and a unique human being.

I cared for Robert Kennedy as a friend. I first came to know him well in 1960, during his brother's campaign for the Presidency. We worked together in that effort. It was at that time that I was elected to the Congress, and Robert F. Kennedy was appointed Attorney General in the new administration.

As Attorney General, Robert Kennedy showed the kind of growth that was to become the hallmark of his all-too-brief career. His dedication and work in the area of civil rights prepared Congress and the Nation for passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. He brought new hope that the deep and longstanding problems of equal justice in this Nation might at last be understood and confronted, and that the way might be paved to solve them.

As confidant and adviser to the President, he began to display the judgment and historical perspective that was to mark his later career when, as Senator, he enunciated new policies that the Nation might pursue domestically and internationally. His hand was felt in the policies and decisions that marked John F. Kennedy's administration with greatness and won us respect among the leaders of the world.

Robert Kennedy traveled a long personal and political road during his short life, and as a col-

league I watched with admiration his growth into a mature and compassionate leader. His personal and political visions gave promise of greatness renewed. His actions brought inspiration and new hope to many millions of Americans. The loss of Robert Kennedy was a deep and tragic loss—as the loss of his brother before him—not just for his own constituency but for the entire Nation.

On the eve of his assassination Robert F. Kennedy had become a formidable contender for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency of the United States. Against all the odds and predictions he was impressing himself into the consciousness of this Nation as its potential 37th President. Against the advice of those who said that a possible failure to achieve this goal would be injurious to a man in politics, Robert Kennedy took his courage in hand and acted on the strength of his convictions. I knew well the risks that he was taking with his career to contest an incumbent President for the nomination, and it was not lightly that I urged him to run on January 19 of this year. It was for the benefit of the Nation that I so counseled him, and I believe it was for the benefit of the Nation that Robert Kennedy chose to run.

Torn between his conviction that decisive changes were required in leadership and policy, and his awareness that efforts to achieve new leadership at this time could conceivably split and defeat the party, he hesitated, then reached a decision. He undertook and was beginning to succeed in amassing the kind of support that could revitalize the party and lead it to a meaningful victory. He offered it a new chance to present itself as the party of peace and progress. This was the last and greatest quest of Robert F. Kennedy. It is to this quest that we must now dedicate ourselves without his help, so that we may profit from his legacy.

There is much to remember about Robert Kennedy from the brief span of his career. Perhaps his outstanding characteristic was an uncanny ability to listen to the words and feelings of other people and to learn from them—to be able to put himself in their place and understand their needs. This became clear as he emerged as one of the few personalities in Government to identify with and understand the problems of the poor—problems that are threatening to split this Nation apart

as others continue to misunderstand and neglect their solution.

Robert Kennedy offered new hope and inspiration to millions upon millions of Americans who feel disenfranchised and unrepresented at the highest levels. He enlisted the aid of business in seeking solutions to unemployment and urban decay. He fought against those forces that would have the Government renege on its promises and responsibilities, as in his leadership of the fight against the regressive provisions of the Social Security Amendments of 1968. He called upon all portions of the Nation to unite in conceiving dynamic programs to meet the needs of the future, to unite to heal the divisions that have been growing in our midst as the affluent and the poor regard each other with suspicion, and as those who favor escalation of the war in Asia, and those who disapprove it, view each other with alarm.

Our policies in Asia—the war in Vietnam—revealed the other most prominent hallmark of Robert Kennedy's development toward statesmanship. Quietly and without fanfare he assessed our policies abroad and found them wanting; he stood up to be counted and proposed the means to turn our efforts toward peace—toward a safer world for ourselves and for our neighbors. He saw the tragedy and error of our involvement in the Vietnamese war and sought the means to end it—to have us relinquish our military goals and replace them with the compassionate and progressive goals of which this Nation is worthy. I believe that Robert Kennedy was responsible to a great extent for the growing sentiment in this country against escalation and prolongation of the war and toward a negotiated settlement which is now represented by our participation in the Paris talks.

There is no need to recount again the many details of Robert Kennedy's successful career—they are being spoken of everywhere. But it is worthwhile to point out what his death really means, and to underscore the lesson that must be learned for the future. To many people Robert F. Kennedy represented the outstanding hope for responsive National Government. They saw in him a leader that would take firm charge yet above all respond to changing times and needs, break with the destructive traditions of the past, and represent the will of the Nation as well as guide it. They saw in him the possibility of changing our national leadership without relin-

quishing the good traditions and beliefs that led them to select the Democratic party as a vehicle for progress. For this reason Robert Kennedy was more important even than the limits of his person; he was a symbol as well as a man.

Many people were devoted to the symbol as well as to the man and placed their most important hopes in Robert Kennedy's trust. If we are to appreciate the full meaning of this we must remember what his brother meant to us before him, and what it meant to the Nation to recover from the shock of John F. Kennedy's assassination and determine to go on. We must remember what it meant when Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated, once again the Nation was numbed by tragedy and loss—yet it tried to go on and to build a better future. Robert Kennedy was for many that hope for the future embodied. Once again those hopes were dashed as violence and tragedy struck—as another leader was slain. From how many such blows can the Nation recover and maintain its strength and vitality? How many people have lost their hope that the best among us can continue to find their way to leadership? How many people despair and turn their eyes away from the future, believing that our chance for great leadership and progress has been stilled?

I am afraid the answer is many—far too many, because for many people Robert Kennedy was the symbol of their hope. Yet we cannot permit this to happen in America—we cannot bow to apathy and grief and permit the challenge to go unmet. We must find a way to proceed with Robert Kennedy's quest without his active presence—with only his inspiration to guide us. As greatly as we mourn Robert F. Kennedy's death, we must pray, for the sake of America, that he was not unique—not irreplaceable. We must seek and encourage other new leadership. We must seek and find strength within ourselves as individuals. We will sorely need more men of his stature in the turbulent days ahead. We must find such men, and we must rise and be such men in our single and combined efforts as best we can.

Hon. F. Bradford Morse
OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, on June 12, 1968, the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massa-

chusetts adopted a resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to adopt "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" as the official hymn of the United States. I would like to call to my colleagues' attention this most fitting eulogy to Senator Robert F. Kennedy:

Whereas the national life of our great country is weakened by disunity, distrust and assassination of our great leaders; and

Whereas in recent days when America in paying final tribute to one of its great leaders, Robert F. Kennedy, the singing and playing of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" renewed in all of us a new sense of allegiance to our flag, loyalty to our Government and concern for our fellow man: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the Congress of the United States to adopt the hymn "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" as our national hymn; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the Presiding Officer of each branch of Congress and to each Member thereof from this Commonwealth.

Hon. Carl D. Perkins OF KENTUCKY

Mr. Speaker, all of us who talk about Robert F. Kennedy are impelled to mention his bright spirit, his warm feeling, his great compassion. Political friend and foe alike dwell on his great energy, his drive to accomplish the goals he set for himself.

Because Robert Kennedy never served in this House, many of us are inclined to underestimate his imprint on legislation Congress has enacted during the last several years.

The fact is that many of the welfare measures that the New Frontier and the Great Society have given to our people owe much to Robert Kennedy, both as Attorney General of the United States and as a Senator from New York.

As all of you know, the Kennedy family has taken great interest in the efforts to make life better for people who suffer from handicaps, whether those handicaps be physical, mental, or economic.

Because of my work with the House Committee on Education and Labor, I had firsthand knowledge of the Kennedy interest in improving the conditions of our less fortunate citizens. Whether it was better educational opportunities for bright youngsters, vocational education for those who lacked interest in academic studies, or

better health facilities for those least able to pay, Robert Kennedy and the members of his family were strong supporters.

The late John F. Kennedy became a Member of this House 2 years before I did. But after I entered Congress in 1949 I served 4 years with him as a fellow member of the Education and Labor Committee. When John Kennedy went to the Senate, in 1953, he was assigned to the Labor and Public Welfare Committee so that our close relationship on welfare legislation continued.

During the all too brief time that John Kennedy served in the White House, he made it known that he always was available to talk about welfare matters. His instructions were that any time I needed to discuss welfare legislation, I could get to him quickly through his brother, the Attorney General.

It was during that period that I learned of Robert Kennedy's deep interest in social welfare legislation. He was more than a means for me to gain the President's attention. He took, on his own initiative, great concern with the programs that were to add up to such an impressive total for the New Frontier and the Great Society.

It was in this period that Edward Kennedy was elected to the Senate. He was assigned to the Committee on Labor and Welfare and became another key Kennedy figure in producing legislation for the benefit of people. After Robert Kennedy was elected to the Senate, he also was assigned to the Labor and Welfare Committee where he and Edward Kennedy made an effective team.

Robert Kennedy's great interest in people, his warm compassion, his obvious desire to help, never were more readily apparent than during a 2-day trip he took with me through part of eastern Kentucky, just a few weeks ago. His trip produced hundreds of expressions from people to whom he brought a little hope that Congress had a genuine interest in lifting them out of the abject poverty in which so many of them live.

Those expressions were repeated when Senator Kennedy was killed by the assassin's bullets. Many who wrote made it clear that they felt they had lost a personal champion, had been deprived of the assistance of someone who truly was interested in their welfare.

That feeling among countless numbers of people is the great legacy left to his fellow countrymen by Robert F. Kennedy.

Hon. Dante B. Fascell

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, the death of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy has shocked and devastated our Nation. If any group can be said to grieve more than others, it would be those minorities for which he fought so hard.

The Jewish people felt particularly close to Senator Kennedy, for he had a deep compassion for their history of suffering and persecution. I call to the attention of my colleagues an article published after his death by Mrs. Mori Fremon, editor of the *Goldcoaster*, a publication of the Gold Coast Lodge No. 2608 of the B'nai B'rith in Miami Beach:

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY AND B'NAI B'RITH

When the history of this time will be written three events will be related almost as one continuous sequence, although the first is almost 5 years removed from the other two. All three are murders, all three of prominent men of our time, men with ideals, with special appeal to minority groups, men who evoked strong responses.

There is sorrow, and the inability to believe that such a thing could happen so quickly in one family—the Kennedys—and so quickly, after Martin Luther King, in the family of man.

Robert F. Kennedy's assassin—a Jordanian who hated and feared his outspoken interest in Israel's survival.

But Robert Kennedy's interest was not a prefabricated plank for the political platform of the moment.

In his preface to "B'nai B'rith, Story of a Covenant" his interest, his compassion are expressed in eloquent language, direct, inspired, sincere.

"The story of B'nai B'rith must cheer all of those who prize man's concern for his fellow man. * * * B'nai B'rith stands as an outstanding social achievement in which high idealistic vision is combined with great practical vigor.

"To read this laudable history is to review some of the most sublime moments in history—and some of the most agonizing. The terrible pogroms of eastern Europe, which B'nai B'rith sought to ease, remind us—if we need reminding"—*of man's capacity for brutality and cruelty to his fellowmen.* (The italics are ours.)

His interest in Israel dated back to the days when neither he nor his older brother had political aspirations.

"During 1947-48 I was a correspondent for a Boston newspaper, covering the war in Palestine. The energy, sacrifice, and idealism of the Jewish settler-fighters led me promptly to forecast that a homeland would be successfully won—although at the time the Israeli military situation was unfavorable."

Soon after an interesting episode involving a secret visit by Chaim Weizmann to the White House, recognition of Israel's independence by the United States became a reality.

"No aspect of man's civilized influence has been left untouched by B'nai Brith—culture, education, youth care, and the larger historical consequences of individual, corporate, and government actions.

"And in these numerous activities B'nai B'rith stood beyond Jewish life. In a pluralistic society such as ours in the United States, its causes have not been merely 'Jewish causes.' They have been the causes of us all. Because where injustice exists—in the form of barbed wire or a locker-room slur—there we are all hurt; wherever it is endangered we are all endangered; but where freedom and justice exist, we are all enlarged.

"As long as millions of Americans suffer indignity and punishment and deprivation because of their color, their poverty, their race, or their religion, we know that we are only halfway to our goal * * * a country in which the promises of our Constitution are at last fulfilled for all Americans.

"For that honor and justice we must all stand—and we must all work. And this means this informed history of B'nai B'rith is a beginning—not a finished product. There will be other occasions for pride and anguish in the years of struggle ahead. B'nai B'rith will surely be in the forefront of that struggle for justice and equality, as they have led us so often in the past."

Hon. Daniel J. Flood

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, at this time I rise to address this body and its distinguished Members concerning an event of recent date, which, even though a month since its tragic occurrence, still troubles me with deep sorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I refer to the catastrophic assassination of the distinguished junior Senator from New York.

In my public service career many events have taken place which have forced me into deep thought and prayer for the concern of my country. Of all these events—and by the way, they span a broad range of topics—few have been as personally distressing as the political assassinations of three great countrymen: President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Francis Kennedy.

The tragic slaying of these national leaders signals danger for the American public. The life of our democracy has been rooted in the availability and accessibility of our civil servants to their constituencies. These tragedies cause many of us to wonder if any man is safe to present his views before the American people for their judgment without troops of security guards standing by. And the deaths of these three particular Ameri-

cans have left a void in the political fabric of our country which can never be replaced.

But aside from the political loss, the death of two of these men was a great personal loss to me.

As you know, I first came to the 79th Congress in 1946—later came the young Congressman John F. Kennedy. Working with him in the Congress and the Presidency, along with having his friendship, are experiences which are deeply impressed on my heart.

In a similar vein, the shooting of Senator Robert F. Kennedy played its personal toll and I felt the need myself to make some type of response to the situation.

For the family which has experienced so many tragedies little but sincere condolence can be offered.

There is really so little anyone can do to express their gratitude for the brilliant career of Senator Kennedy.

However, I do feel the need for us as a nation to insure in every way possible that the life of Senator Kennedy is remembered and the ideals for which he sacrificed that life remain alive in the minds of Americans of all ages.

Mr. Speaker, when I mention the life of Robert Kennedy, I speak of the man who fathered 10 children and loved completely a wife who will mother their 11th child this winter. I speak of the exciting life of a man who climbed mountains and forded streams for the adventure that these exercises contained. I speak of the life of Robert Kennedy, who, by birth, could have relaxed and lived a complacent and comfortable life; but instead, like the rest of the members of his outstanding family, he choose to dedicate his career to the public service of the people of the world.

And, Mr. Speaker, when I mention the ideals of Senator Kennedy, I refer to those ideals which told him that the pursuit and attainment of truth were the only way one could achieve real freedom. I refer to the ideals which provided the courage which he so often exhibited for many, even unpopular causes. Courage rooted in the obligation to do right was his guide. I refer to the compassion, and understanding which this young man had for the impoverished people of our Nation whether they may be white, black, Indian, Puerto Rican, or Mexican. Mr. Speaker, I refer to the ideals which provided Senator Kennedy with the creative energy to continually "seek a newer world," as he attempted "to make gentle the life

of the world," in which he lived—both of these were deeply felt convictions of Robert Kennedy.

In an attempt to add to the memory of Senator Kennedy throughout our Nation, today, I present legislation which designates the Postmaster General to issue a postage stamp in commemoration of Robert Kennedy's birthday. The legislation further designates the stamp first to be placed on sale on the next anniversary of that birth, November 20, 1968.

As you know, Senator Kennedy had a deep-rooted commitment to the disadvantaged and underprivileged of our society. In order to make this memorial more meaningful for the Senator's family and followers as well as the impoverished people whom the Senator loved, I have further made provisions that the first sale of the 6-cent Kennedy commemorative stamp take place in the neighborhood known as Watts in the city of Los Angeles where the Senator died. Furthermore, to point out this symbolism, I have asked that the first day covers while bearing the Los Angeles postmark shall carry the Watts ZIP code, 90002.

Mr. Speaker, it is true that the issuance of a commemorative stamp is not unusual. Hopefully the date and condition of issuance will add more meaning to this stamp.

Aside from the introduction of this legislation I have written the Postmaster General urging him to issue such a commemorative stamp as designated in this legislation, especially if the Congress with its busy calendar does not take action on this measure before adjournment.

Mr. Speaker, while Senator Kennedy is dead and even though his ideals live on, I join with many other Americans in wondering why such things occur. It seems to me though that Senator Kennedy who suffered greatly on the passing of his brother the President probably would not wonder "why." Indeed, he would take advantage of the great amount of insight he had in these matters. The other night I ran across a passage from the writings of former Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjold, which answered my question. To me these words summarize the life and death of the distinguished Senator, my friend, Bob Kennedy:

We are not permitted to choose the frame of our destiny. But what we put into it is ours. He who wills adventure will experience it—according to the measure

of his courage. He who wills sacrifice will experience it—according to the measure of his purity of heart.

A draft copy of the bill follows:

H. R. 18458

A bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp commemorating the birthday of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Postmaster General is authorized and directed to issue a special postage stamp in commemoration of the birthday of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York. Such stamp shall be for the denomination of six cents, and design as the Postmaster General and Kennedy family shall determine, shall be first placed on sale on November 20, 1968, at the classified postal station in the neighborhood known as "Watts" among the people for whom the Senator had so much love and compassion, in the city of Los Angeles where he died. The first day covers shall bear the ZIP code, 90002 of Watts and the postmark of Los Angeles. The stamp shall be sold thereafter for such a period as the Postmaster General shall determine.

Hon. Henry Helstoski

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy will remain in the minds of the people for a long time. It will be long remembered because of the fact that the Kennedy family has been the tragic victim of two deaths—both by an assassin's bullet; acts of irresponsible individuals.

The impact of this sudden tragedy has reached into every segment of our society and the grief of the people for this man and his brother, our late President, John F. Kennedy, cannot be defined.

Each community in our great Nation has expressed their sorrow upon this great tragedy and the mayor and council of the borough of East Paterson, N.J., have adopted a resolution expressing the borough's sentiment upon the assassination of a man who personified the ideals of democracy and manifested his desire to champion the battles of the underprivileged and the economically deprived.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to honor the memory of Senator Kennedy by including the resolution of the borough of East Paterson at this point. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE BOROUGH OF EAST PATERSON, N.J.

Whereas the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy has personified the ideals of democracy and the faith in the common man to intelligently participate in government and to rule himself effectively; and

Whereas the beloved deceased Senator Robert F. Kennedy manifested his belief and faith in the average person by demonstrating an awareness of the multitudinous problems facing our great Nation; and

Whereas the esteemed departed Senator Robert F. Kennedy was the acknowledged champion of the poor, of the underprivileged, of the oppressed, of the frustrated, and of the deprived blocs of many Americans seeking to better their economic, political, and social lot; and

Whereas the fallen idol of the American people whose cause he had espoused and pledged to aid to bring about a better climate in these United States and who has, regrettably, prematurely come to the end of his most productive life span; and

Whereas the lamented, assassinated leader of American youth, hope of the aged, and stalwart champion of the general rank and file of the American people recognized the need to change our democracy into a firm, dynamic, and responsive form of government attuned to the needs of the general populace; and

Whereas one of the outstanding leaders of a major political party has given his life in an endeavor to bring about universal peace, improvement in our domestic ills, and to improve the social, economic, political, and educational birthright of our American people; be it

Resolved, the mayor and council of the Borough of East Paterson convey to his widow and children, and to his parents, the deep and genuine sympathy and condolences of our community, and be it further

Resolved, a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Congressman Henry J. Helstoski for possible inclusion in the Congressional Record, so that Members of the elective congressional Houses of our Federal Government may be aware of the deep and genuine grief, and of deep personal loss experienced in our community in the recent tragic demise of one of our truly great national leaders.

ALBERT ST. GEORGE, Mayor.

Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to share with my colleagues several eloquent eulogies which were given in honor of the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy last month. The first two eulogies presented here were delivered at the funeral ceremony and will long be remembered for their solemn beauty. The third eulogy is a notable homily given at the Memorial Mass in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston. The remaining five eulogies were given at

Harvard University and are also excellent tributes to Senator Kennedy and provide very illuminating portraits of the man they honor.

It is always a difficult task to eulogize a man of Senator Kennedy's stature in a unique manner. Yet each of these tributes is exceptional and each has succeeded in contributing something singular to the historic picture in writing which has blossomed since the Senator's untimely and tragic death.

Senator Kennery once said that "The sensible thing to do is to do the very best you can all the time." Certainly these verbal memorials to the Senator are superb testimonies to the fact that he has left his mark as a man who at all times did his very best. Indeed this was the ultimate meaning and the essential triumph of his life, that he did his very best and that his best was of a magnitude seldom achieved by man. The eulogies follow:

SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY'S TRIBUTE TO HIS BROTHER

On behalf of Mrs. Robert Kennedy, her children and the parents and sisters of Robert Kennedy, I want to express what we feel to those who mourn with us today in this cathedral and around the world. We loved him as a brother and father and son. From his parents, and from his older brothers and sisters—Joe, Kathleen and Jack—he received inspiration which he passed on to all of us. He gave us strength in time of trouble, wisdom in time of uncertainty, and sharing in time of happiness. He was always by our side.

Love is not an easy feeling to put into words. Nor is loyalty, or trust or joy. But he was all of these. He loved life completely and lived it intensely.

A few years back, Robert Kennedy wrote some words about his own father and they expressed the way we in his family feel about him. He said of what his father meant to him:

"What it really all adds up to is love—not love as it is described with much facility in popular magazines, but the kind of love that is affection and respect, order, encouragement, and support. Our awareness of this was an incalculable source of strength, and because real love is something unselfish and involves sacrifice and giving, we could not help but profit from it."

"Beneath it all, he has tried to engender a social conscience. There were wrongs which needed attention. There were people who were poor and who needed help, and we have a responsibility to them and to this country. Through no virtues and accomplishments of our own, we have been fortunate enough to be born in the United States under the most comfortable conditions. We, therefore, have a responsibility to others who are less well off."

This is what Robert Kennedy was given. What he leaves us is what he said, what he did, and what he stood for. A speech he made to the young people of South Africa on their Day of Affirmation in 1966 sums it up the best, and I would read it now:

"There is a discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; and millions are trapped in poverty while the nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armatures everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

"Our answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease. The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that come with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation at home and around the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man. A young monk began the Protestant Reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth, and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the New World, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter

the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history. All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American Society.

"Our future may lie beyond our vision, but it is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

This is the way he lived. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will someday come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this Nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are and say why.

"I dream things that never were and say why not."

EULOGY BY THE MOST REVEREND TERENCE J. COOKE,
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

"For those who have been faithful, O Lord, life is not ended, but merely changed; and when this earthly abode dissolves, an eternal dwelling place awaits them in heaven."

These words are taken from the preface of the funeral liturgy we are offering together.

Mr. President, my dear brothers and sisters:

Even as we dwell with sorrow on the tragic death of Robert Francis Kennedy, we know that—in justice to him—we should meditate on his life, on the destiny to which he was called, and on the depth of conscience with which he responded to that call.

Our Scriptures impress on us from their earliest pages that every believer is challenged by God's call to life and to work—to life and to work connected with the Lord's destiny for all his people. Whether the call comes vividly and dramatically as it did to Abraham, to Moses, to Isaiah, and to Paul, or quietly and at first almost tentatively—

for every man this awareness of a God-given mission stirs the deepest sense of moral responsibility and makes each person different, not merely in some external way, but in his inmost being. It is, in fact, in the openness of his response to the divine call that we ultimately discover the true man and the true believer.

Forty-two years ago God called Robert Kennedy to life, and through the years of his life he responded to that call with generosity and a sense of purpose few of us achieve. Gifted by nature to a rare degree, he might have sought a life less arduous, a manner of life that left more time for personal interest and for the enjoyment of the wonderful family with which God blessed him. Instead, he chose the broader, more demanding challenge of public service, seeing it as an opportunity to build a better world for all his fellow men. He died in the course of that service.

Today, in simple realism, we salute the sense of purpose which gave direction to Robert Kennedy's life. We salute the sacrifice which answering the call demanded of him each day. Who would not admire his youthfulness, so eager and vibrant that young people yearned to follow him; his sense of mission that impelled him to be his brother's keeper; his faith in God that kept him close to the religion of his childhood? He was a man of faith—faith in God first of all, but faith also in the basic goodness of his fellow men and faith in the future of his country.

We admire the buoyant confidence that kept him moving forward, the awareness of a great job to be done and the drive to do it. We admire his love for America, for all her people, especially for her poor and disadvantaged. We admire his keen sense of brotherhood that reached out to men of every nation, religion, and race. We admire the ability to identify so that Negro people spoke of him as "one of ours." We admire his vision in confronting the problems of poverty and civil rights. He, also, had "a dream"—the dream of an America purged of prejudice, assuring freedom for all her citizens, a land of truly equal opportunity. He pursued that dream with even greater courage and enthusiasm than when he climbed mountains and forded streams. We admire him because his life offers an outstanding example of family virtue and family solidarity. He was—however busy, however occupied—a devoted husband and a loving father.

We are all together in our bewilderment and grief. In vain we search for words to comfort his heartbroken mother and father, his dear wife and children, his beloved brother and sisters, and those whom marriage has made members of his extraordinary family. Words are such inadequate messengers of consolation at this time. We stand beside them in deep and respectful sympathy, praying that God will strengthen them to bear their painful burden of sorrow.

Our sense of shame and discouragement tears alone will not wash away. Somehow, by the grace of God, and with the strength that still lies deep within the soul of America, we must find the courage to take up again the laborious work to which Senator Kennedy devoted all his energies: the building of a great and honorable nation. Especially in this hour, we must keep faith with America and her destiny and we must not forsake our trust in one another. President Johnson offered this Nation wise

counsel when he pointed out that 200 million Americans did not fire the shot that ended Senator Kennedy's life. The act of one man must not demoralize and incapacitate 200 hundred million others. To permit this to happen would be to fail utterly in grasping the message of hope and optimism in Senator Kennedy's life.

We have always believed in our national destiny marked by unity in lofty ideals. We believe that our country came into existence to secure the blessings of freedom, equality, and peace for ourselves and those who will come after us. We have always believed that national unity is indispensable if these blessings are to be achieved and that an America divided in its ideals cannot survive.

We mourn Robert Kennedy and we know that America shall miss him. But let us not miss the meaning of his life. We too must live in faith; we must respond to God's call; we must answer our neighbor's call for true freedom and equality. Our response will be made in loving God and loving our neighbor, in proving our love by service, in serving by confronting and resolving problems of poverty, race, violence, and war.

For Senator Kennedy "there shall be no more mourning and no more sorrow—and death shall be no more." In the words of today's preface—"For those who have been faithful, O Lord, life is not ended but merely changed; and when this earthly abode dissolves, an eternal dwelling place awaits them in heaven." In death, Robert Francis Kennedy has joined the immortals of America, and will be remembered with honor wherever the history of our Nation is recorded. May he be joined also with those immortals from every land and nation who live forever with God in heaven.

For God has called him once again. God has called him home.

HOMILY BY HIS EMINENCE RICHARD CARDINAL CUSHING,
AT MEMORIAL MASS FOR SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, BOSTON, MASS., SUNDAY,
JUNE 9, 1968

Only a few years ago, in circumstances like these today, it was my sad duty to try to put into words the universal grief that we felt on the death of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Today a melancholy fate summons me once again to test the power of language to express the deepest emotions of the human heart as we commemorate the tragic murder of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. Brothers closely joined in life, now are entwined also in death, both felled by the hand of the assassin. History which cannot fail to record the glory of their deeds will take note too of the sad correspondence of their passing.

Like most brothers, they had much in common—a common heritage of faith and courage, a will steeled for accomplishment, and a compelling impulse for public service. They brought to public life, both of them, a new dignity and a new urgency; each added new dimensions to his office, so that, before this Nation and the world, they gave promise of a fuller life and better times for all men everywhere. As their vitality caught the imagination of so many peoples, so too their spirit stirred the forgotten hopes of the poor, the lonely, the oppressed, and the deprived. So much of what was greatness now lies

buried beside a hill in Arlington, beneath a flickering flame.

Four and a half years ago Senator Kennedy committed himself to continue what his brother had so nobly begun; from that moment his boundless energy sought to insure that those ideals they had pursued together should not perish from the earth. Today, as we take time to reflect on his life and character, we can take some measure of what, in that short time, he has meant to America.

If he could speak to us today, Senator Kennedy would, I think, take his greatest consolation in the knowledge that among heavy hearts, those with a special burden of sadness are the poor. For all of us—but for them especially—he was a hero. No one in our time has related so well to their needs, no one has been so understanding of their aspirations, no one has been so honored among them. In good times and bad, he could walk among the citizens of our slums, he could penetrate the urban ghetto, and in the surest sense be a man among his people. In him, as in so few, they saw hope; in him they recognized concern; in him they would not be forgotten. Who can say what it was in his character that gave such confidence to the dispossessed, that made them see in him their brother. For my part, I think it was both the strength of his convictions and the open sincerity of his heart. He was not one to trifle with the truth; when hard things had to be said, he could say them; when difficult deeds were demanded, he could do them. He had, in his own life, known something of the wounds this world can inflict on the innocent; he knew, too, how ineffective in the harshness of reality is the balm of soft words. Now that the poor have lost their champion, all of us are impoverished.

We must raise our eyes beyond the boundaries of this nation to the far lands of the earth if we wish to understand the universal mourning of this week. Not just to Americans, but to millions across the globe a torch that flamed in the night has been extinguished. By some mysterious identification, those who had never even hoped to meet him saw in Senator Kennedy, bearing the mantle of his martyred brother, some message of hope for all mankind. To a generation that was weary, he symbolized strength; to those confused, he pointed a way; for those drifting, he set a course; to those heavy with years, he offered his youth; to those despairing, he was a figure of promise. Who can say how many little lamps around the world went out when death won its struggle last week in Los Angeles. The world is mourning a loss that is as wide as the planet itself.

Men in public life, in our country and elsewhere, are men who live on the edge of danger. No one could have been more conscious of this from his own experience than Senator Kennedy. But danger to him was not an anxiety, it was not a worry; it was as he often said, "part of a man's life." He was fond of quoting the ancient Greek poet who said: "Men are not made for safe havens." Valor, we know, is an essential part of greatness; only the brave can prevail. Although he was never reckless of life, he seemed to welcome risk, to be willing to challenge and to conquer it. He knew that the same protection that could guard his life could also be a barrier between himself and his people. He chose not to accept its demands. It was, I think, an act of faith on his part to put him-

self under the protection of providence, to do his own best, and to leave the rest to God.

Not many people will mention it, I suppose, but Senator Kennedy was a devoutly religious man, and the values for which he labored were essentially spiritual ones. I do not mean that his religion was not related to his life and actions; I mean the opposite; his religion was the inspiration of all that he was and all that he did. The beads that entwined his dying hand said something of his life; he was a man of prayer. Now that faith has brought him into the Lord's kingdom, he has found the only "safe haven" he has ever sought, and he has won it dearly.

Our hearts and prayers go out to his wife and family, especially to those who are now children of a fallen hero. We remember, too, his stalwart mother and brave father, his brother Ted and his sisters. We share their sorrow, though we cannot assuage their grief. To the loss already sustained, now a new one is added; only faith assures them that they will meet again in another and better world. We pray for his repose and for their consolation.

IN MEMORY OF ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, A SERVICE,
JUNE 10, 1968, 12 NOON, MEMORIAL CHURCH, HAR-
VARD UNIVERSITY

I

Most of the others who will speak here today can add, from their own close personal association with Robert Francis Kennedy, to our appreciation of his character as a man and his contribution to our public life. If we were to share time in proportion to our intimacy with Senator Kennedy, I would already have been silenced. Yet the role that he played in the designation of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government as Harvard's memorial to his brother was a crucial one, and in that role—as trivial as it may seem on the stage of the world events in which he was a leading actor—I had some reason to appreciate the qualities which we may well recognize as we meet today in his memory.

For the past few days a national torrent of eloquence has paid tribute to his courage and his compassion. But for him these were not only the virtues of a brave and good man—they were the virtues of the citizen, a citizen who is aware of his own high talents and determined to use them for the public good. It is easy either for a man of wealth and social status, or for a young rebel against injustice—and he was both—to assume an attitude of superiority to public service and especially to the kind that involves a perpetual contest for power; namely, politics. But such a moral posture was not to his taste. He sought not only power but the responsibility that should go with it, and that can convert power from a source of corruption to an instrument of brotherhood. It was this union of power with compassionate public purposes, this insistence on facing hard facts with a tender conscience, that I took him to mean by the phrase that he used on the last night of his campaign—"the politics of reality."

Although he received plenty of advice in the process, it was Robert Kennedy's decision that the memorial to his brother, President Kennedy, should be more than a monument and more than an archive of past accomplishments—should be, indeed, an institution to encourage

and foster the kind of public service to which he and his family had been dedicated. And it was his personal decision—at least it was without benefit of any agreement from his advisers, for he knew when it was important to wait for a consensus and when it was essential to accept responsibility and to act—to help Harvard University establish as the living memorial to his brother the Kennedy School of Government.

It was at the point of this decision, 4 years ago this summer, that I found no basis for the political legend of Robert Kennedy's arrogance and ruthlessness. In a fundamental sense, a politician most surely reveals arrogance by showing a greater respect for power and status than for truth and learning, or by seeking to manipulate the institutions of education in the interest of political advantage. Among political leaders of various parties and all shades of opinion, I have never known one who showed more complete understanding of the need for the independence of academic institutions and for the integrity of scholarship, or more resigned and good humored tolerance for the vagaries of scholarly opinion. The line to be followed by a university that wishes to safeguard intellectual integrity and still make a contemporary contribution to society is not easy to define; it would be far easier if all political leaders could display Robert Kennedy's understanding and his generosity of spirit.

It was in honor of John Fitzgerald Kennedy that he helped Harvard create a living memorial, dedicated to the kind of public service in which he so deeply believed. And now the Kennedy School of Government will serve as well to perpetuate the memory of Robert Francis Kennedy. Harvard and the Nation—indeed the world as a whole—will long mourn his loss.

—DON K. PRICE.

II

I was not a close personal associate of Robert Kennedy although I have often seen word in the newspapers to the contrary. Serving under him on the floor at the Los Angeles convention in 1960, I remember that I was the only person he addressed as Sir. So it might be more illuminating this afternoon if I were to offer a fragment of testimony of another who knew him well. That was his brother, John F. Kennedy. The story is a small one and has not, I believe, been earlier told.

It was at dinner in Florida a few weeks after the 1960 presidential campaign. Since there was no more favorite topic in the Kennedy family, the campaign was being vigorously refought. I ventured the suggestion that its high point had been the prompt and simultaneous response of both brothers to the jailing of Martin Luther King—something which had occurred not long before the election. The President-elect picked up the comment.

"Like all great political strategies, it was accidental and uncoordinated," he said. "Each of us believed in character. I telephoned Mrs. King. Bobby moved in on the authorities to get her husband out of jail."

The President was perhaps unfair to himself but right on his brother. Bob Kennedy was a man of quick indignation, and of quick response. His response was not alone to injustice under law which arouses the more reputable forms of anger. It was to economic deprivation and racial deprivation and it came with special force where

these afflicted the young. In such matters, response is not always convenient. It involves the discomforts of action.

This instinct for action accounted, I have always thought, for one part of Kennedy's reputation. In our day, we honor, above all, the men who are able to grace extreme social convenience with high moral purpose. Even the better universities sometimes show talent in this regard. By such standards, those like Kennedy, who wish to do something, are bound to seem aggressive, at least until after they are dead.

Indeed often when I read about Robert Kennedy, I wondered if the humorless, self-centered man there described could bear any relation to the one I knew. Could it be that he was the least known public figure of our time? Could this be the price for action against the social convenience? For he was, his friends all knew, amused and amusing. He found great gaiety, and rich, rewarding irony in his own relation to life and politics. And so far from being self-centered, he was the most warmly compassionate of men. But now we know that he was known. All could see it in the faces of the men and women, and especially the youngsters who lined the track all the way from New York to Washington. All saw it in one crudely lettered sign held up by Negro children on the Baltimore platform. It said, "We loves you, Bobby." There is an instinct that tells the people who need a friend who is a friend.

—JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH.

III

Today I speak for those who never met Bobby Kennedy but for whom he was very much alive. We were offered the Bobby of the press and the Bobby of the campaign leaflets, but we perceived more. Behind the commentator's opinion and the campaigner's image, we felt a man who was real.

In him, we saw a pragmatic politician, but sometimes we called him ruthless. In him, we saw idealism, but sometimes we called him opportunistic. In him, we saw the will and the vigor to attack the problems which he saw, but sometimes we called him ambitious.

We could agree with him or argue with him, support him or work for his opponents. Yet always he was one of us. We listened to him; we worked for him; and we believed in him.

Bobby Kennedy saw the world as we see it. He shared our humanity. He loved as we love. He felt the suffering which we feel. He hated the war which we hate. He saw that this was a revolutionary world with promises and dreams to fulfill, and he planned as we plan. Bobby was our companion, though distant, our friend, though we never met him.

Some of us were disenchanted with what we have alternately labeled "The Establishment" or "The System." For the disaffected, Bobby was a viable hope because he combined our ideals with the system's way. Through his commitment and his ambition, his dream and his style, he would make concerned activism possible through established channels.

Bobby was hope for divided America. He could speak for the poor, the blacks, and the young while dealing with the affluent, the whites, and the over-thirty on their terms. The assassin's bullet struck not only our can-

didate—it struck the divided Americans whom he sought to reconcile and represent.

It would be easy and an excuse to say that the dream died with the man. Bobby is dead, and our hope in his dream momentarily falters, but we will continue. We mourn his absence, but we rejoice that we witnessed the life of Robert Francis Kennedy, a human being.

—PETER A. GAGLIARDI.

IV

The last time I saw Robert Kennedy was the afternoon before his television debate, in a big square room at the top of the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, with the sun flooding in across the Golden Gate. He was curled up on a couch in a characteristic attitude, listening intently to the people grouped around him. He was always a good listener. He listened patiently and purposefully, as a good student, in order to increase his capacity to do what he believed needed to be done in the world.

He was extraordinarily open to new ideas. He used them in his own work, and he passed them on freely and eagerly to others who might use them too. The idea of community action first found its way into government through him when he was Attorney General, before the poverty program was even conceived. And the idea of Federal incentives for private enterprise to take in the unemployed and the underemployed has found the fullest and the most painstaking expression in his work as a Senator.

What Robert Kennedy added to an idea was a vivid concern for making it happen. His unique contribution grew out of his awareness of the gap between the proposal and its execution, and his determination to bridge that gap. When confronted by a problem, his constant question was "What can I do about it?", and he was never satisfied until he had a positive answer.

His ability to listen and his capacity to use what he heard made him a rewarding student. But he was also a great teacher. And his first pupil was always himself. He never schooled anyone more rigorously. Events conspired with him to make that schooling painful but effective so that he continued to grow in understanding and in wisdom as long as he lived. He loved to quote Aeschylus: "In our sleep, pain that cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart, and in our despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

He taught those around him by example and by quiet questioning. What he taught best were the lessons of individual growth and maturity, and everyone who worked with him came away having discovered new capacities within himself.

Like every great teacher, he taught many whom he never saw or spoke with. The power of his words reached across the country and across the world, carrying a lesson of concern and commitment to the afflicted and the rejected.

His teaching, like all great teaching, was suffused with passion. It was a passion for excellence and against bombast and shoddiness and cruelty and injustice. It found expression when he told the American people that it was "unacceptable" that children should go hungry in the United States today; it was "unacceptable" that an education should not be freely available to those who are

qualified; it was "unacceptable" that we should, as if by divine right, select villages in Asia for destruction.

His sense of outrage was very near the surface. It responded particularly to instances of overbearing conduct by powerful groups and individuals at the expense of the powerless. I remember riding with him in a taxi into New York City late at night through the streets of Spanish Harlem, and asking him about the satisfactions of public office. He swept his arm around the bleak prospect and replied, "If only I could do more."

Yeats' epitaph on Jonathan Swift fits Robert Kennedy:

"[He] has sailed into his rest;
Savage indignation there
Cannot lacerate his breast.
Imitate him if you dare,
World besotted traveller; he
Served human liberty."

But for those of us who loved him, and who were the beneficiaries of his talent for friendship and for love, he is best remembered in his own words, spoken after the death of his friend, Martin Luther King:

"Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of this world."

—ADAM YARMOLINSKY.

V

A lot of things don't seem to matter very much right now.

Bob Kennedy was a friend, a good friend and a strong one, but what friends feel we leave to their own thoughts.

Whether he was driving or driven, we can leave to the historians—and so with other aspects of his complex, deeply interesting personality.

Whether he could have been nominated for the Presidency in this year—something I doubt and so I think did he—we can leave to the soothsayers.

What he would have done inside the Presidency had he got there—how above all else he would have sought to end the war—we can leave to the makers of myths. There is no means of knowing and it does not matter now.

What matters—what at least I find impelling—are the faces in the crowds along the railroad tracks last Saturday. In my own incidental exposures to our public life, I have never seen a spectacle more moving or more meaningful.

At every station and every crossroads, lining overpasses, crowding bridges, all the way from Newark to suburban Washington, we passed silent, serious, absorbed, and concerned people.

Their faces, their stances, their patience—some must have waited five hours—these were almost uniform in the expression of one purpose. They were there, it seems, in the words of a sign, hand-lettered, held up proudly by three kids along the tracks, they were there to say "Goodbye, Bobby."

The mood of those quiet, patient people evokes all that we have read about the crowds which waited patiently for Lincoln's train a century ago. But there is one striking difference between the people Saturday and those who waited to pay last respects to Lincoln. Then we had ap-

parently, by all accounts, a great cross-section of Americans. Now, this time, we had by all appearances, by every sign of face and dress, primarily the urban poor, predominantly the ghetto poor.

Surely more than half—by some proportion I don't know—more than half those faces were black.

Thus visually, impressionistically, we have a confirmation of the stories from the campaign trail in Indiana and in Omaha and in Los Angeles:

Bob Kennedy had won a constituency.

He had become what the historians may some day call the first Urban Populist. From the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant to the streets of Watts, he had become a Representative.

If this is so—I think it is—that train ride offered overwhelming signs of it—then we can measure Bob's accomplishment by the size of the gap his passing leaves in our national life. Among our institutions, within the circle of our politicians, white and black, where is there now a Representative for Bob's constituency?

For he had grasped the central point that the dis-senters in this country have been making: Namely, that our institutions—our parties, legislatures, civil services, our unions, corporations, banks, even our universities—are far too little open to the poor, offer far fewer means of access and advantage to the northern ghetto dweller—or the California grape picker—than middle-class Americans have dreamed of or can readily believe.

And grasping this, Bob sought to make himself a means of access, a communicator, and a doer.

He sought power for their purposes.

He was not moved to be charitable; he was moved to be political. He acted out of conscience and concern, but he acted to gain power through politics: If he found a constituency outside the system, he sought to represent it in the system, to force its needs upon the system, through the system.

And we have no one on the scene to take his place.

The gap left by his passing is a big one, but he made it. In that there lies encouragement for us. He lived by the belief that individuals can make a difference, that individual will can be imposed on situations, that a man can matter if he mobilizes all his effort, focusses his mind and stamina and influence, holds nothing back.

I think Bob had no naive confidence that effort on his part could guarantee success, but I think he had enormous confidence that effort, focused effort, could impose upon the world some share of the conditions making for success—and thus could move us forward—and those crowds along the railroad vindicate his confidence.

No man has lived his life in vain if he can leave that testimony for the rest of us.

He was one individual, yet he did make a difference. He made a dent on the world.

What he did, other men can do—there lies our hope—provided each can bring himself to act in Bob's way, the way of those extraordinary brothers: Putting it out, putting it all out, holding nothing back.

The campaign crowds would call to Bob: "Tell it like it is!" He did.

—RICHARD E. NEUSTADT.

Hon. Gerald R. Ford

OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Speaker, America lost a disciple of justice and a man of great courage, honesty, and integrity with the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

As Robert Kennedy's brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, said at the funeral mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, there is no need to "idealize" Robert Kennedy. He was clearly an outstanding American, a strong person, a man of great dedication to the principles of equality and justice.

It was shockingly tragic that the life of this vigorous and dedicated man should have been cut short when he was just coming into his full powers. It was also tragic and even more shocking that his death came at the hands of an assassin.

We can only speculate what the impact on America might have been had Robert Kennedy lived out his natural life span. But this we know—that it took courage for him to oppose the major policies of a sitting President of his own political party, that Robert Kennedy's decision to speak out in opposition to these policies was based on great personal honesty and integrity.

Mr. Speaker, I join with you and all other Americans in mourning the passing of a remarkable American, an outstanding U.S. Senator, Robert F. Kennedy. And I extend my deepest condolences to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, the children of Ethel and Robert Kennedy, and to all other members of the Kennedy family. May God comfort them in this time of great sorrow and suffering.

Hon. James M. Hanley

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, in this era, many adults choose to view the aims of our young people with skepticism. I make it clear, however, that I am not in that category, for from my observation of our young people in general the majority of them have noble ambitions for a good education along with a desire to develop into good, responsible adult citizens.

I use this preface to introduce some poetry authored by a 17-year-old high school student, Miss Sandy Ponto, a resident of my congressional district, who exemplifies the young American to whom I have referred. I wish to share with my colleagues her thoughts of the late Senator Kennedy, expressed so beautifully in this poem:

A JOYOUS FLIGHT TO HEAVEN

(By Sandy Ponto)

Brother John, I have come to visit you
 Won't you please show me the way
 I've served my life upon the earth
 In fact I'm here to stay.
 I've tried to help this Nation of ours,
 to bring peace and the strongest name,
 But with all the violence and hatred,
 The world will probably remain the same.
 I wanted to understand people,
 and hoping they understood me,
 John, it takes more than one man to convince them,
 to give people the way to see.
 No more can a man stand up for his rights
 To speak what he wants to say,
 For there are some, in this big world
 who will lead the weak astray.
 If I could have stayed much longer,
 even for a little while,
 Maybe I could have done something,
 Perhaps make the sad smile.
 Well, now I will start my journey,
 and John, meet me in the joyous world,
 The angels come now to take me,
 With all my hopes unfurled.
 Ethel, I now will say my final words,
 and hope that you won't forget,
 The love and joys as a family we shared,
 and some sorrows that we have met.
 And Freckles, I heard that you were there
 when they brought my children home,
 You're a good dog Freckles, now you take care,
 and please stay close, don't roam.
 My children I have tried my best,
 to bring you up the right way
 And with the help of your mother,
 she is now on her own today.
 To my wife, no words can express,
 of the years we've shared in love,
 God bless you and the children,
 I'll be watching from above.
 Now brother John, let me take your hand,
 as we have once done before,
 Show me around our resting place,
 and lead me to the Golden Door.

Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Speaker, Robert Kennedy will always be remembered as a champion of human rights. He was one of the few Americans who realized the bearing that Africa's racial problems had on the United States and on the world.

Recently, Wayne Fredericks wrote a tribute to the late Senator which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. The article is a portrait of a sensitive human being deeply involved in the world struggle for racial equality.

Wayne Fredericks served from 1961 until 1967 as Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. Subsequently, the State Department presented him with its Superior Honor Award. This past May, I had the pleasure of attending the Anglo-American Inter-Parliamentary Conference on Africa with Mr. Fredericks. His grasp of Africa's problems made him an invaluable asset to the Conference. The article provides a glimpse of the magnitude of these problems and points up a need for more to follow in Senator Kennedy's footsteps. I include it in the Record, as follows:

KENNEDY IN AFRICA: ONE MAN'S FAITH IN A CONTINENT

(By Wayne Fredericks)

On June 6, 2 years ago, Senator Robert Kennedy said to the students of the University of Cape Town in South Africa: "At the heart of Western freedom and democracy is the belief that the individual man, the child of God, is the touchstone of value—and all society, groups, the state, exist for his benefit. Therefore, the enlargement of liberty for individual human beings must be the supreme goal and the abiding practice of Western society." His speech was made in the course of a journey which took him and Mrs. Kennedy to the Republic of South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.

Robert Kennedy's interest in Africa goes back at least as far as the "Kennedy airlift" of 1960, when the Kennedy Foundation provided charter flights for a number of students from East Africa who had scholarships at various American colleges but did not have funds to get to this country from Africa.

Robert Kennedy remained especially interested in the role of youth and students throughout the world, including Africa, and was conscious of the great impact which would be made in Africa as more and more young and increasingly better educated Africans assumed positions of responsibility. When he reached Ethiopia on his 1966 African trip, he spoke to several thousand students in a

hall normally holding one-third that number, and referred to youth and students as the elite of their country and told them it was their responsibility to strive for the betterment of their own people and "to promote a dialog between young people of all nations."

His interest in Africa grew during his years as Attorney General and as Senator. He asked for and received regular briefings on African developments from State Department officials and others.

He had often expressed to me a desire to visit Africa and was pleased when he received an invitation in the autumn of 1965 from the president of the National Union of South African Students to speak to a student audience in Cape Town. Delays in obtaining visas and in finding a mutually acceptable time caused the trip to be postponed until June 1966, a time which was not convenient to Senator Kennedy because of the political campaign of 1966. Nevertheless he proceeded.

An impressive amount of time and energy went into the preparation of the trip. Information was requested, not only from official sources, but from universities and a wide variety of private sources of knowledge on southern and eastern Africa. The Senator held discussions with scholars, officials, businessmen, churchmen, journalists, authors, Africans, South Africans, representing a wide range of views on developments in Africa and on race relations.

Particularly useful were a series of Saturday morning discussions beginning with breakfast at the Senator's home at Hickory Hill. During these and other discussions, Senator Kennedy formulated and refined the principal themes of his speeches in the four countries he was to visit.

In the case of South Africa, whose policy of apartheid was repugnant to most of the world community and whose racial problems were very difficult, he was anxious to set forth for all South Africans, regardless of race, his own views of the basic values of Western democracy. (It was from a speech in South Africa that Senator Edward Kennedy quoted in his eulogy to his brother in St. Patrick's Cathedral on June 8.)

Although he was ignored by South African officials, his speeches, his visits to universities, to African townships, to the late Chief Albert Luthuli, and to industrial leaders were widely reported. And Kennedy, too, was impressed, not only by modern technological achievements—but by Chief Luthuli, a modest African Nobel Peace Prize winner under restriction on his farm and of whom Senator Kennedy said, "He is one of the most impressive men I have ever met. His compassion, understanding, and tolerance were most impressive."

As Kennedy departed, the *Rand Daily Mail*, an English language Johannesburg paper, said "Senator Robert Kennedy's visit is the best thing that has happened to South Africa for years. It is as if a window has been flung open and a gust of fresh air has swept into a room."

Although the South African portion of the journey was controversial both inside and outside South Africa, the visits to Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia took the form of a homecoming. President Kenyatta, President Nyerere, and His Majesty Haile Selassie and their people accorded him a reception usually reserved for a vis-

iting chief of state. Both President Nyerere and the Emperor had met Robert Kennedy during their state visits to this country in 1963 when he was Attorney General.

Robert Kennedy was one of those few Americans in high places who early felt the growing importance of Africa and who saw the importance of the issue of race and color for Africa, for the United States, and for the world. He saw danger in the minority regimes throughout Southern Africa based solely on race and in the potential opportunity they afforded communism. "The denial of freedom," he said in Africa, "in whatever name, only strengthens the very communism it claims to oppose."

He was concerned at the low level of U.S. economic assistance to Africa and called for an increased flow of economic aid and private investment from the richer to the poorer nations.

He had the ability to communicate with Africans—both about their problems and ours—and was always ready to receive African visitors when they came to Washington or New York on official or private visits. One African leader's comment to me was typical, "Senator Kennedy certainly has an understanding of the problems of Africa."

I was in Kenya when the shattering news of the shooting and then of the death of Senator Robert Kennedy came. President Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya, who has led his people through periods of stress and difficulty to racial accommodation and tolerance, summed it up for himself and for Africa when he said on June 6, 1968, "America and indeed the world has lost a courageous, liberal, and farsighted personality. The ideals for which he strived will live on and inspire people the world over to live in understanding, respect, and love."

Hon. Fred B. Rooney

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the tragic death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the citizens of communities I represent joined with the Nation in paying tribute and expressing their sorrow.

On June 9, in a number of churches in the 15th Congressional District, special memorial services were conducted in tribute to Senator Kennedy. These services rejected the tragedy encompassed in knowing that yet another prominent American leader, one who might have been destined for even greater roles in our National Government, had been cut down by an assassin.

I would like to insert in the Congressional Record at this point the words of two clergymen—one Protestant and one Catholic—during a memorial service at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Easton Pa.:

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND JOHN R. WEILER, PASTOR, ST. MARK'S UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, EASTON, PA.

(NOTE.—Read on Sunday afternoon, June 9, at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Easton, Pa., on the occasion of a memorial Mass for the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.)

Dear Friends:

If I had been told a week ago that I would be standing here in St. Joseph's Church this afternoon at a memorial mass for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, I would never have believed it. But the course of events moves swiftly today. Within a matter of hours the life and career of one of our young, vigorous national leaders was brought to an end tragically. Momentarily at least, this loss blots out the ordinary distinctions of religious denomination, race, educational and economic status which usually divide people in a country as diverse as ours. A common sorrow draws us together. We sense our common humanity in a way which is often absent in more peaceful times. No matter what our background or beliefs we are forcefully reminded that life is brief and filled with unexpected sadness. Men's best laid plans and noblest desires are often not fulfilled but must be laid aside at the direction of a higher than human power.

I stand before you as a representative of the Christian congregations of this city which are not united in matters of faith with the Roman Catholic Church of which most of you are members. Yet all of us are brethren. We have all been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. We all bear the name Christian as a sign of our faith in Jesus Christ. We all rejoice in the hope of eternal life. Therefore, in a spirit of brotherly love, I bring the condolences and sympathy of members of the non-Catholic denominations to the Roman Catholic community upon the death of one of its most distinguished sons, Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Let this memorial mass be one of many ways by which we can share not only a common national loss but be drawn closer together as Christian brothers. In the political realm Senator Kennedy worked very hard to increase unity and good will among all races and conditions of men. Those of us who are more directly concerned with the welfare of the church must work and pray for greater unity among the Lord's followers. I'm sure this goal is one of which Senator Kennedy would most heartily approve.

As the Christian church is more conformed to the image and teaching of her Divine Lord her influence should permeate more deeply into all levels of society. God willing, her mission can help men be healed of their diseases, and forgiven of their sins. Hatred and violence will diminish and the sad events of the past week, too often repeated during recent years, may cease to disfigure our national and private lives.

STATEMENT OF REV. FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY, PASTOR, ST. BERNARD'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, ADMINISTRATOR, ST. MICHAEL'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

(NOTE.—Read on Sunday, June 9, at St. Joseph's R.C. Church, Easton, on the occasion of the memorial Mass for Senator Robert F. Kennedy.)

My dear brothers and sisters, we have gathered here this afternoon to honor the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. We do so in a state of being emotionally drained. The sights and sounds that have bombarded our senses via the TV screen over the last 4 days—all of the circumstances; horrible, tragic, touching, unforgettable, have left us numb.

Our reaction is a truly human one for the emotions are an essential part of our human nature. God has created us with the capability of deep emotion, and that is good. There is a danger here, however. We are not merely emotional creatures. We are creatures capable of thinking and reasoning and making decisions.

In all of the sad events of the past 4 days, the greatest tragedy of all would be that the death of Senator Kennedy become for us, as individuals or as a nation, merely or only an unforgettable emotional experience. I ask each of you here this afternoon to give the most serious consideration to this danger. I would ask each of you to react not merely emotionally but with all of the human powers that God has given to our human nature. I would ask you to think soberly and with deep reflection not about how Senator Kennedy died, or why he died, but most important of all how he lived.

In the eulogy given by his brother, Senator Ted Kennedy, before the funeral mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, there was quoted a speech given 2 years ago by Senator Kennedy to a group of young students in South Africa. In the words and text of this brief speech, we find the answer to how this man lived and perhaps to why he died. The words are as follows:

"There is discrimination in this world and slavery and slaughter and starvation. Governments repress their people; and millions are trapped in poverty while the Nation grows rich; and wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere.

"These are differing evils, but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfection of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, our lack of sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows.

"But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they share with us the same short moment of life; that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

"Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men. And surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again.

"Our answer is to rely on youth—not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease.

"The cruelties and obstacles of this swiftly changing planet will not yield to obsolete dogmas and outworn slogans. They cannot be moved by those who cling to a present that is already dying, who prefer the illusion of security to the excitement and danger that come with even the most peaceful progress. It is a revolutionary world we live in; and this generation at home and around

the world, has had thrust upon it a greater burden of responsibility than any generation that has ever lived.

"Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man.

"A young monk began the Protestant reformation, a young general extended an empire from Macedonia to the borders of the earth and a young woman reclaimed the territory of France. It was a young Italian explorer who discovered the new world, and the 32-year-old Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed that all men are created equal.

"These men moved the world, and so can we all. Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped.

"Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

"Few are willing to brave the disapproval of their fellows, the censure of their colleagues, the wrath of their society. Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is the one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world that yields most painfully to change. And I believe that in this generation those with the courage to enter the moral conflict will find themselves with companions in every corner of the globe.

"For the fortunate among us, there is the temptation to follow the easy and familiar paths of personal ambition and financial success so grandly spread before those who enjoy the privilege of education. But that is not the road history has marked out for us. Like it or not, we live in times of danger and uncertainty. But they are also more open to the creative energy of men than any other time in history.

"All of us will ultimately be judged and as the years pass we will surely judge ourselves, on the effort we have contributed to building a new world society and the extent to which our ideals and goals have shaped that effort.

"The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason, and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American Society.

"Our future may live beyond our vision, but it is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle, that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live."

My dear brothers and sisters, I would ask your permission to indulge for a few moments in a bit of speculation. This is sometimes a dangerous thing to do. The

realities of life are usually sufficient and difficult enough. However, I think it would be helpful in this case to speculate for a few moments. Suppose Senator Robert Kennedy had known with certainty from some reliable source that to follow his political career, to continue to speak out for the rights and dignity of man, would one day result in the kind of violent and tragic death which did in fact occur. Do you think after hearing the words we have just read that he would in fact have abandoned his career and set aside the goals he outlined? I do not think so. For the attitude, the philosophy of life which he described, he prized as the only way to live. And he is right. To live in any other way, to run away from or to deny the realities of life, to compromise the highest ideals and dreams of free men, is not to live at all. To be unwilling to accept the challenges of life is merely to vegetate, merely to exist, merely to put in time for a brief while on this planet of ours.

The task that lies before us as individuals and as members of the human race is not an easy one, but it is a work that does not belong to us alone. No one expressed this better than the brother of Senator Kennedy, President John F. Kennedy, when he said, "God's work here on earth must truly be our own." Our task then is difficult but clear—to spend ourselves, and our lives if necessary, in the accomplishment of the work and the attainment of the goals established by our Creator. How, we may ask ourselves, is this possible? How can we, within the limitations of our humanity, accomplish a work that seemingly can be fulfilled by God alone?

The answer, I believe, is found woven in the fabric of the life of this man and his entire family—the thread of a deep faith and trust in God. This thread of faith is many times a hidden thing, but there are times and occasions when it stands in bold relief to be clearly seen by all.

In the last four days our whole nation has been a witness to the source of the energies and ideals of this man's life—his faith in God, a deep faith instilled in the earliest years of his family life. He was a man who took to heart the words spoken by Christ himself in the text of today's Gospel, "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world."

All of you may agree with the thoughts and the sentiments I have just expressed. All of you have been deeply moved by the life and death of this man. But let us not permit his life and death to be wasted by reacting only emotionally. Let us pause here and now for a moment of silent, personal prayer—each in our own words asking God to give us the wisdom, the courage and the faith to live as he did. (One minute pause.)

O, Lord, help us to live what we have promised. Amen.

Hon. Joshua Eilberg

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, in its July 1968, edition of Federal Bar News, the Federal Bar Association took poignant note of the death of one of its illustrious members, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

In order that those of my colleagues who have not seen this tribute may have that opportunity, I will have it reprinted here:

"WHEN THE HEIGHT IS WON, THEN THERE IS EASE"—
AESCHYLUS

ROBERT KENNEDY, 1925-1968

In a lawful society, death is not thought of as "always somewhere out there in the crowd." And yet it was. Nothing could have brought this matter more poignantly to the Nation's attention than the assassination of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. At the time he was seeking the support of his peers for the Nation's highest elective office. He was doing this with all of his passion and energy.

Senator Kennedy was elected an honorary member of the Federal Bar while serving as the Attorney General of the United States. Earlier, he had served as an attorney with the Department. He also served as an attorney for the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, the Hoover Commission, and the Senate Labor-Management Subcommittee. When he was elected to the U.S. Senate from the State of New York, he became a member of the Capitol Hill Chapter.

For a young man, Senator Kennedy had experienced power, success, and fame. Yet none of these were ends in and of themselves. As Attorney General, he was always ready and anxious to take the time to explain the workings of the Justice Department to groups of schoolchildren. For Senator Kennedy love was a verb. Life was action. Men were not made for safe havens. He knew that the problems facing America today and tomorrow could not be solved by worn out clichés. He knew that these problems had to be verbalized with candor and compassion. And now he is gone.

Senator Kennedy often ended his speeches with: "Some men see things as they are and say 'Why?' I dream things that never were and say 'Why not?'" Isn't this his legacy to us? For the future truly will belong to those of us who can blend vision, reason, and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals of America.

To his wife Ethel Skakel, their children and his family, the Federal Bar Association extends its sincere sympathy.

Hon. James J. Delaney

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 1209), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1209

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, a Senator of the United States from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of forty Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee to attend the funeral of the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Celler, Mr. Rooney of New York, Mr. Delaney,

Mr. Kelly, Mr. Fino, Mr. Farbstein, Mr. Robison, Mr. Dulski, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Pirnie, Mr. Stratton, Mr. Goodell, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Carey, Mr. King of New York, Mr. Pike, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Grover, Mr. Horton, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Reid of New York, Mr. Wydler, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Conable, Mr. Dow, Mr. Hanley, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. McEwen, Mr. Ottinger, Mr. Resnick, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Tenzer, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Kupferman, Mr. Brasco, Mr. Button, and Mr. Podell.

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